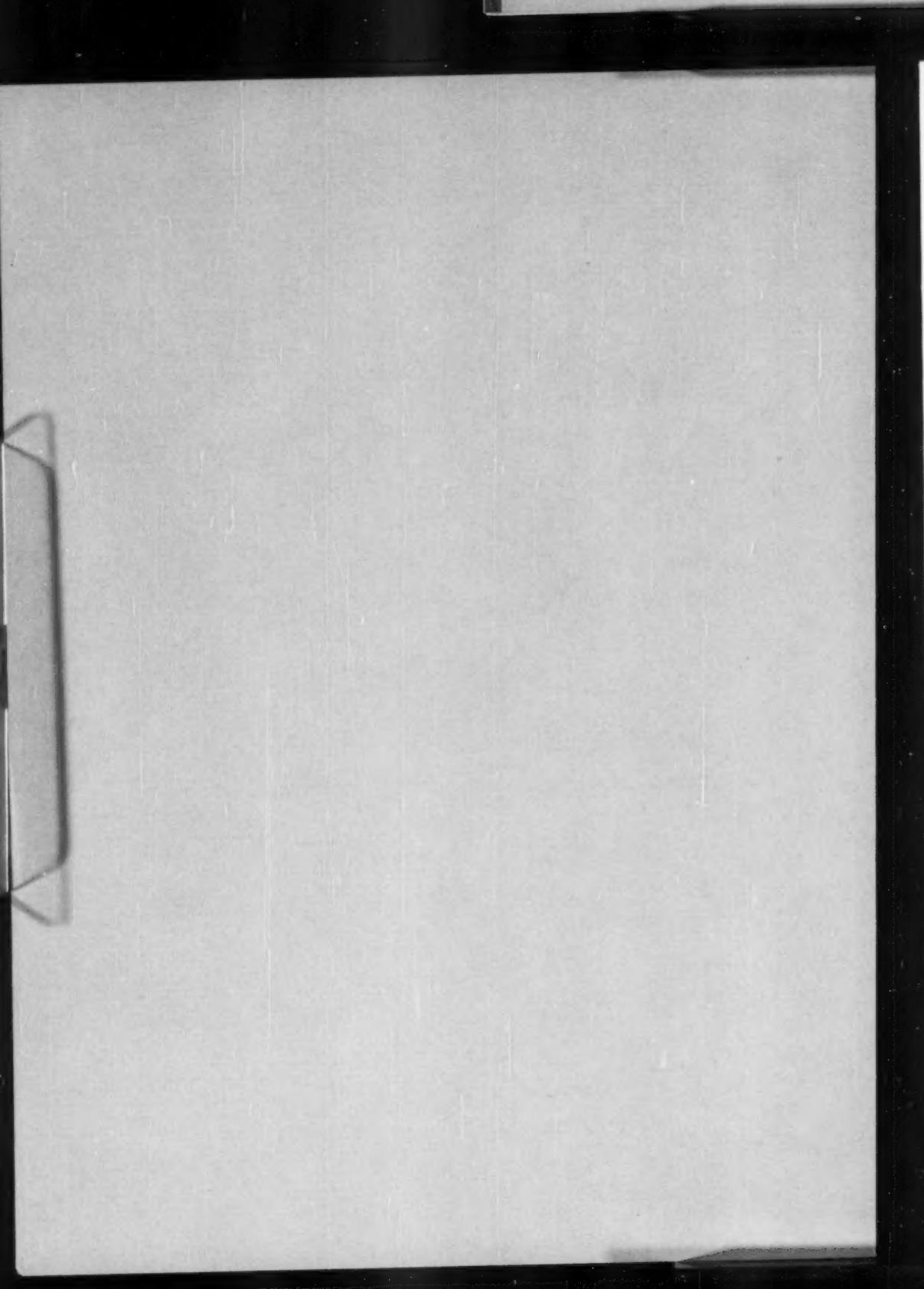
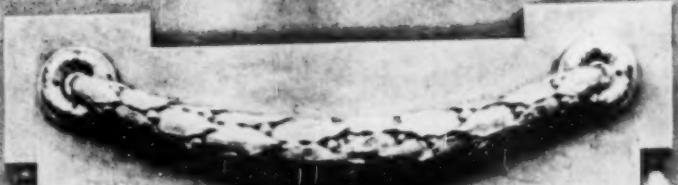


The ART Quarterly

SPRING 1950

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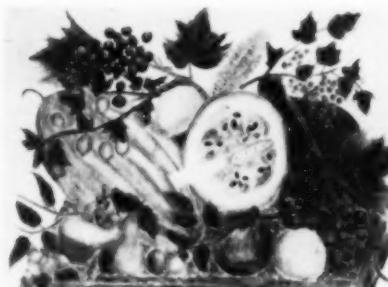


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The ART Quarterly

PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Edited by W. R. VALENTINER and E. P. RICHARDSON
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Fig. 1. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Self-Portrait*
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bache Collection

VAN DYCK'S CHARACTER

By W. R. VALENTINER

UNLIKE the majority of the great artists, Anthony van Dyck was not only of good birth—this can also be said of Rubens, Velásquez and Michelangelo—but he was born wealthy. He was the son of rich parents who could entirely support him in his youth before his own talents won for him affluence in early manhood. This undoubtedly had great advantages for him in spurring the independence of his mind, since he never needed to struggle for existence. But it had also a questionable influence upon his character, so that he was by nature disposed to look upon himself as a favorite of the gods, with all the privileges pertaining thereto.

Freedom from having to earn his living and the importance attached for this reason to money and social standing, made him conceited and obstinate in relations with others who were not of equal class. Vain by nature, he became something of a snob, trying too patently to impress the world with his high standard of existence.

All artists have something of the actor in them. That is, they are able to hide themselves behind the mask of another, an imaginary or projected, personality. But Van Dyck was more of an actor than usual. His appearance, especially in later years, must have been theatrical to a degree, both in raiment and in manner. Even his earliest self-portrait, when he was about fourteen, shows nothing of the naïveté and freshness of a boy. He already appears neither childlike like the young Raphael in his early portrait drawing, nor seriously intense like the young Dürer at that age, but self-conscious: he knows that he is a pretty and clever boy, far in advance of his years.

The most popular conception of Van Dyck's appearance is derived from two self-portraits, one with the gold chain (in Munich) painted when he was about twenty-four, and one with the sunflower, painted during the last years in England and now in the collection of the Duke of Westminster. Slightly earlier than the Munich portrait and executed with greater freedom, although rather hastily, is the three-quarter-length self-portrait in the Bache collection, Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 1), which was the model for several workshop copies representing the artist in bust form.

The young artist appears extremely handsome, his features finely drawn, almost feminine, his eyes dark, observant, intense yet coquettish, his brown

curly hair carefully groomed, yet falling nonchalantly upon his forehead. His mouth, with indefinite outlines, is not very sensuous, his long, straight sharply-pointed nose expressive of an inexhaustible, penetrating curiosity about life and people, which he preserved to the end of his days. Finally, the short but firm chin and the strong cheekbones indicate the incredible energy with which the frail form of his nervous body was held together.

The skin is pale; the elongated fingers are white and boneless, a type of hand which in the English poetry of his time was considered a sign of beauty. The gestures are more like those of a young society woman than of a painter and—as if hiding his profession—he even wears costly gloves in one of his later self-portraits. The white skin is his especial pride. His Narcissan self-satisfaction is revealed to us in several paintings of his soft, broad-shouldered, nude body in such historical representations of himself as *St. Sebastian* (Munich), *St. John the Baptist* (New York, formerly W. P. Pearson), *Paris* (Louvre), and *Icarus* (Toronto) (Fig. 2).

Out of this young actor there develops in the English self-portraits the courtier who acts his part perfectly. Wearing now the curled moustache and little pointed beard which was to become identified with his name, he looks haughtily over his shoulder at the spectator (in the portrait from the Holford collection). The right hand, affectedly posed, holds the mantle loosely so that enough of the gold chain given him by the King is visible.

The least sympathetic portrait is the famous one with the sunflower (Fig. 3), although the painting is a remarkable and original composition, of high artistic quality, brilliant in color and finely constructed in contrasts of light and dark. One is almost repelled by the connotations of this sycophantic picture where the subject with one hand ostentatiously flaunts the gold chain, and with the other indicates the large sunflower as a symbol of the monarch's grace. Combined with the servile attitude towards the King is an unpleasant superiority concentrated in the cold look of the steel-colored eyes, which have lost the searching charm of former days. The artist takes part here in the last act of a drama which should soon end in disaster.

We are not surprised to find in Van Dyck a tendency toward acting, a penchant which accords well with his occasional lapses from the truth, a trait born of an extravagant imagination which made him believe in supposititious experiences which were actually quite different from those that befell him in real life. This tendency to fabricate becomes apparent in anecdotes transmitted to us by early writers on Van Dyck.¹

Fierens-Gevaert, the Belgian art historian, who is most skeptical towards the seventeenth and eighteenth century anecdotes concerning Van Dyck, is nevertheless worried that even in the rare documents relating to him, the artist's character does not appear blameless. He cites the strange case of Balthasar Gerbier, an agent of Charles I, who presented a painting by Van Dyck to the King which the artist later declared to be a copy.² Among the experts enlisted by Gerbier to authenticate the painting was Rubens, who claimed that his erstwhile pupil had never executed a more beautiful canvas. "Why Van Dyck chose to maintain his lie," writes the Belgian authority, "is difficult to ascertain, perhaps out of revenge, since Gerbier was a disagreeable person." "C'est une ombre dans sa vie [Van Dyck's], une petite tache qu'on aimeraït d'effacer." Knowing the inconsistencies of Van Dyck's character, however, I do not think it necessary to take this episode too seriously. It was probably not the only such concoction in Van Dyck's career.

Another document describes a court action of 1660 in connection with a series of half-length figures of Christ and the Apostles which Van Dyck painted in his youth.³ No less than four repetitions of the series appear to have existed during the artist's own lifetime. Jan Breughel the Younger, a co-pupil and friend of Van Dyck, testified that the latter never painted more than a single version of a composition, leaving the copies to his pupils, with occasional retouching by his own hand. A collector had been taken in by one of these school replicas, and the younger Breughel seems to have been implicated in the transaction! But it is hard to believe that Van Dyck was innocently unaware that his workshop repetitions were being sold as originals for high prices. We hear nothing of this sort in Rubens' biography—as an instance of Van Dyck's fanciful invention, we cite a story told by De Piles, who had it from Jabach. Asked by the latter why he worked so rapidly, Van Dyck explained that he developed this habit as a youth when he had to work for his daily bread! The fact is that his father undoubtedly set him up in a large studio when he was only sixteen or seventeen, and that he received high prices for his paintings from the very beginning. He received, for example, as his first order from a church, a commission to paint one of a series of fifteen compositions relating to the mystery of the rosary (*Christ Carrying the Cross*, in St. Paul's, Antwerp), the same payment as Rubens, 150 guilders.⁴ This was in 1617 when he was eighteen years of age. Considering the large number of works preserved to us from the hand of the young artist from his fifteenth to twentieth year, it seems likely that he had earned a fortune by the time he left for Italy in 1623.

Sometime before this journey he had already received an offer to come to England. In July, 1620, an agent of the Earl of Arundel wrote to his master: "Van Dyck is always with Signor Rubens and his works are beginning to be scarcely less esteemed than those of his master. He is a young man of one and twenty, with a father and mother in this city who are very rich, so that it is difficult for him to quit these parts, all the more because he sees the fortune which Rubens is enjoying."⁵

Cust notes, in connection with Lord Arundel's efforts to induce Van Dyck to settle permanently in England at this early date, that the artist was obviously not an easy man to deal with. However, following the promise of a sufficiently large salary he made his first journey to England in the autumn of 1620 as "serviteur de sa Majesté," receiving indeed the large figure of 100 pounds from James I, a sum matched by that paid to Ben Jonson, the leading poet of the day. But obviously still dissatisfied, Van Dyck stayed only four months at court. On January 28, 1621, we find him in possession of a passport "pour voyager durant huit mois, en vertu de la permission de sa Majesté." He managed to command his salary even while he went to Italy. And all that is left to us from his first sojourn in England is the masterly portrait of the Earl of Arundel in the Robert Guggenheim collection, Washington, D. C. (Fig. 4).

But let us return for a moment to his childhood. Van Dyck's father was one of the richest silk merchants in Antwerp, a city whose wealth was based to a large degree upon its textile trade. He belonged to the distinguished bourgeoisie, which represented the best tradition and culture in a town at that time one of the largest in the world. The elder Van Dyck's high standing in the community is attested by the fact that he was a member of the administration of the Cathedral and maintained close relations with the religious orders of the city, several of his daughters later entering these orders themselves. Van Dyck himself maintained his connection with the new Jesuit movement of the Catholic church. After his return from Italy in 1628, he became a member of the *confrérie supérieure de célibataires*, a Jesuit organization for which he painted an altarpiece.

The education of the young Anthony was most excellent. He was precocious, executed remarkable portraits at the age of fourteen and fifteen, and in addition to his extraordinary artistic gifts showed a talent for languages and for the classical literature in which the Flemish youths of his time were instructed. He learned French, English, Italian and Spanish, and must have been well versed in the works of such poets as Homer and Virgil, such writers as Demos-



Fig. 2. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Icarus*
Toronto, Frank P. Wood Collection



Fig. 3. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Self-Portrait with Sunflower*
London, Duke of Westminster



Fig. 5. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Isabella Brant*
Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Mellon Collection



Fig. 4. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Earl of Arundel*
Washington, D. C., Robert Guggenheim Collection

thenes and Cicero. His father's house was a center for the celebrated scholars and artists of Antwerp; and as we know that he owned a clavichord made by the famous Ruckers, it was probably also a center for the active musical life then prevalent in the city. Amid such surroundings it is quite likely that Anton early became adept at that "sweet conversation" for which the Duke of Newcastle praises him in a letter. Such social graces are only acquired in youth through inherited culture.

At the age of eleven Anthony was given by his father to the most expensive art teacher in Antwerp, Hendrik van Balen. The boy advanced so rapidly that within two years he must already have begun to receive orders for portraits — the only explanation for several excellent portraits such as that of Vermeulen, which can be dated between 1615-17. Even before entering Rubens' workshop he had developed his own style, which Dr. Glück has characterized as his heavy or rough, pre-Rubens manner. His father, who obviously foresaw his son's great future, allowed him the freedom of independent action at court when he was seventeen, and was apparently instrumental in having him admitted to the freedom of the City, although under age, and in his becoming a master of the guild in the following year.

As if all these auspicious conditions surrounding Van Dyck, in addition to his gifts of beauty and talent, were not enough, he was also fortunate in being spared the battle for the ideas of a new age which the generation before him, chiefly in the person of Rubens, had won after a hard struggle. It took Rubens nearly thirty years to develop his modern style, which had become universally accepted. Van Dyck as a boy adopted Rubens' ideas, in the main, and was recognized without trouble and admired by his contemporaries for utilizing these established ideas with only slight modifications born of his own individuality and greater sensitivity.

His gifts were so brilliant, his manners so independent, that it was impossible for him not to be spoiled by family and friends, and even by Rubens, who was apparently proud of him as his best pupil and generous enough to recommend him anywhere. Van Dyck, in turn, saw to it that his relation to Rubens was soon almost that of an equal and that he received prices comparable to those of his master.

The story told by Houbraken that before leaving for Italy Van Dyck gave Rubens three of his own canvases and received in return one of Rubens' best horses, plus a purse, has been questioned, since it is quite obvious that Van Dyck did not need the money. The incident is, however, corroborated by

Rubens' inventory, where the three paintings appear: *Christ Taken Prisoner*, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, and a *Portrait of Isabella Brant*. Both artists were good businessmen and the transaction between them was obviously a fair one. The paintings brought a high price after Rubens' death.

It is not necessary to accept that part of Houbraken's story which holds that Rubens was relieved at Van Dyck's departure because the young disciple had fallen in love with his wife. But there is also no reason to believe that Van Dyck, who was very fond of and successful with women, was indifferent to the handsome young Isabella. That is apparent in the care with which he painted her fine portrait (Fig. 5), one of the treasures of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C.

Van Dyck must have possessed personal qualities which quickly recommended him as a desirable figure in society wherever he appeared. He received additional experience, not only in his art but also in the social graces, in Italy, before returning permanently to England. All this was undoubtedly a great asset because the Baroque age had just reached the peak of elegance in those cities where he spent the longest time, Venice, Genoa and Rome. But elegant manners are not sufficient to impress society if unaccompanied by fame and an attractive appearance. International reputation was not lacking in Van Dyck's case, but nature, so prodigal in endowing him, had also distinguished him with a fascinating appearance. There was only one feature wherein he did not measure up to his aristocratic models in Italy and England, whom he always represented as persons of unusual height, long-legged and small-headed.

Self-portraits, even those in full-length, do not generally convey the true size of the subject; and height, although termed by Napoleon a negative characteristic, is undoubtedly a vital factor in social recognition, as the case of Keats well proves. Van Dyck never depicted himself in full stature as did Rubens and Rembrandt, for example, but in the one instance of the double portrait of himself and his friend Endymion Porter (Fig. 6), we see at once that he was probably small. At any event he appears delicate and slight alongside the sturdy Englishman. But that he was, indeed, small, we learn from an amusing anecdote told by Weyerman. As it has never been included in Van Dyck's biographies and is in so many ways revealing of his character, we offer it here *in extenso*. Those who do not consider Weyerman reliable will, at all events, confess: *Si non è vero, è ben trovato*. But aside from the inner probability, the fact that Van Dyck actually made a portrait of the main figure in the anecdote, the Bishop of Ghent, Antoine Triest (Fig. 7), whose type seems to



Fig. 6. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Van Dyck and Endymion Porter*
Madrid, Prado



Fig. 7. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Antoine Triest, Bishop of Ghent*
London, Private Collection



Fig. 8. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *The Adoration of the Serpent*
Madrid, Prado

coincide with the characterization given in the story, makes it quite plausible.

After his return from England, Van Dyck was asked by the Bishop of Ghent, Anthonius Triest, to paint his portrait. The Bishop was a very large, strong man who could have furnished the model for the *St. Christopher* painted in the choir of Antwerp Cathedral, while Van Dyck was bigger in his art than in his body. The artist came to the Bishop's palace after first sending his canvas, colors, and easel, which were deposited in the antechamber. The dignitary, seated in a green velvet armchair, received Van Dyck haughtily, greeting him only with a nod, to which the latter responded in kind. No other action was forthcoming from the Bishop who only continued to stare in a supercilious manner at the artist who returned the gaze self-possessedly, wondering how this comedy would end.

Finally, Triest inquired in unfriendly tones if Van Dyck had come to paint his portrait? The artist replied that he was waiting for his orders; and, since he had not been asked to take a seat, he sat down himself, still in an anticipatory manner. With some irritation, the Bishop then inquired if Van Dyck intended to get his materials, or did he mean the Bishop to get them. Whereupon Van Dyck replied: "If none of your servants will bring them, then Your Eminence would be the next to do so." The prelate, infuriated, jumped up from his seat, exclaiming, "Little Anton, you are a small whippersnapper with a big, malicious tongue!" The artist, fearing the heavy man [the original reads *dat wandelent Kerkelijc gevael*, which means "the rolling, moving churchwagon"] might knock him down if he came closer, escaped to the door where before closing it, he said, "Big Anton, you are a sturdy fellow, capable of crushing a tree, but the bark is worth more than the trunk" (the last obviously referring to a Flemish proverb.)

This story, if veracious, establishes that Van Dyck was "a little fellow." Like other great artists of small stature, Michelangelo, Wagner and Brahms, he was driven, as compensation for his diminutive size, to strive for oversized proportions in his compositions. This was one of the reasons for the tallness of his elegant courtiers and their wives.

It is well to remember that the anecdotes here related must have originated from Van Dyck himself, since it is unlikely that the other persons involved would have perpetuated stories embarrassing to themselves. Van Dyck was probably given to repeating his clever, impudent repartee to those who in his judgment did not appreciate him sufficiently.

Other sources testify to his snobbish habit of having servants carry his easels and clean his brushes. Jabach told De Piles that Van Dyck used to receive a sitter for a portrait every hour. When a session was over, he would bow to the subject, while a servant entered to remove his palette and brushes and replace them with clean ones. Bellori relates that in Rome Van Dyck was very un-

popular with his fellow artists from Flanders, who were Bohemians and disliked watching him walk the streets elegantly arrayed, with his gold chain, feathered hat, and accompanied by servants. And at that time he was about twenty-five years old! Their denigrative appellation for him at the time was *il pittore cavalieresco*.

In England his appetite for luxury increased steadily. A bill paid by the Royal Treasury for his lodgings at Blackfriars includes the services of six servants in his household. On his last journey from France back to England he drove in a coach and four, with five servants.

In his defense it may be said that his social ambitions were not out of keeping with the standard of the time for artists. Since the late Renaissance the artist, who in the Middle Ages belonged to the class of artisans, if not of simple workmen, had been recognized and accepted by the social world as of equal rank if his actions conformed. Van Dyck was more than amenable to subordinate himself to those conventions, but many artists still lived outside the pale of society and were opposed to its moral code.

For Van Dyck, with his family background and education, it was not difficult to ascend quickly to the highest social position achievable by an artist at that time and perhaps of all time. At Mantua, his first stop in Italy, he received the gold chain of which Bellori speaks; in Genoa and Venice he lived in the houses of the Italian aristocracy; in Rome he lodged with the Cardinal Bentivoglio and enjoyed the company of the old Roman families, the Barberini and Colonna. It was only natural for him to look for the same kind of reception in England.

He does not seem to have received this recognition at the English court during his first stay under James I, who was more attracted to poetry than to painting. But for Charles I, the greatest connoisseur of his age, he became the *principal peintre ordinaire de leurs Majestés*, and was shortly knighted, thus receiving the title which his jealous colleagues in Rome had fastened on him in irony.

It is not to be wondered at that these rapid successes, in addition to his history of wealth and comfort all his life, affected his character. Several of the stories about him disclose a not altogether admirable cupidity, while some documents increase the impression that he tried ruthlessly to get as much money as possible, even from his best friends, among whom we may count the King and Queen. In Antwerp some of the church dignitaries had already resented his exorbitant prices. A bill of 1638, which he sent the King in connection

with a number of portraits completed for him, is still extant and shows the alterations of the King, who cut the prices down, some to less than half.⁶

The pointed replies which Van Dyck gave to the sovereigns from time to time, and whose perpetuation is probably due again to the artist's pride in his quick tongue, appear to posterity neither polite nor tactful. After painting the Queen several times—so relates Houbraken—she wanted to know why he flattered her hands more than her face, and Van Dyck replied that it was because he expected his reward from those hands. When Charles asked him once in a mood of melancholy if he knew what it meant to be at times in need of even a few thousand guineas, the artist answered that he did, indeed: ". . . if an artist holds an open house for his friends, and an open bag for his mistresses, like myself, it frequently happens to him, that he sees the bottom of his purse."

This story corresponds to the facts. While Charles found increasing difficulty in raising funds for his household and art collections, Van Dyck required more and more for his expenditures during the last years of his life. And we can well believe the sources which inform us that his expenses were heightened by the alchemistic experiments in which he indulged with his great friend Sir Kenelm Digby, "that strange genius, half paladin and half charlatan" (L. Cust).

After Rubens died on May 30, 1640, the way seemed free for Van Dyck to assume his place as the greatest Flemish master of the time. He tried feverishly to obtain the great commissions which Rubens had received for great series of historical paintings at different courts. But overestimating his physical strength and seeking, also, fantastic prices, he encountered refusals at every turn. Even Charles had to deny his extravagant proposals. It was Van Dyck's intention to decorate the walls of the Banquet Hall at Whitehall, where Rubens had already painted the ceiling with scenes representing the apotheosis of James I. The design was to show in four sections the ceremonies of the Order of the Garter, a subject which would indeed have lent itself to a grand historical pageant, including in the procession of the Knights many actual portraits. For the cartoon of this project Van Dyck demanded 13,000 crowns alone, estimating the cost of the whole at about 80,000 pounds (the sum of 300,000 pounds mentioned by Bellori was probably greatly exaggerated). Rubens had received 3000 pounds for his ceiling decoration!

After this failure Van Dyck went to Paris in the hope of receiving an order from the French king for the execution of historical paintings in the Louvre, which would overshadow those of Rubens in the Palace of Luxembourg, but

native artists, Poussin and Simon Vouet, were preferred to him. Philip IV of Spain was anxious for the completion of the paintings which Rubens had begun. But the ambitious Van Dyck wanted nothing less than to start the work all over so that nothing of Rubens should be left. He asked, also, a characteristically enormous price. The Archduke Ferdinand, Philip's brother, broke off relations with Van Dyck, calling him a madman (*archifou*) and gave the order to Gaspár de Crayer.

Van Dyck, already broken in health, returned to England where he died soon after, on December 9, 1641, one year after Rubens.

There were other reasons why Van Dyck could not take the place of Rubens. The latter's unique position as a man of high ethical standards was respected everywhere. He was not only a great artist but a great scholar and diplomat as well, who in his political career at various European courts labored unceasingly for the welfare and peace of his country. Although he commanded high prices for his work, he could not be denied by patrons who were profoundly impressed by his noble and well-balanced nature.

Van Dyck had neither the strength of character nor the intelligence of Rubens. Vanity—a fault unknown to the latter—is a sign of limited mentality. Beyond being a great painter he was little more than a man of wealth, pampered by courts and women, having to do only with persons of high rank and getting into trouble even with them because of his greediness. His behavior in this respect was not corrected by love. An amusing story revealed through a letter by Lord Conway to Lord Wentworth (January 22, 1636)⁷ discloses that although Van Dyck was very much in love with Lady Stanhope, the mistress of Carey Raleigh, the affair ended in a *coglioneria* (fiasco) because of the high price he asked for her portrait. "He told her, if she would not pay the price he demanded, he would give the portrait to someone who would take advantage of it." This has the ring of blackmail.

It was fortunate for Van Dyck that he found in Charles I a most exceptional patron who, recognizing his greatness as an artist, indulged his weaknesses by allowing him every freedom. He treated him with the utmost consideration to the last, visiting him frequently at his studio and taking care of him in his illness. How different was the treatment of another artist of at least equal worth, and a court painter also indispensable to his King, Velasquez, who under the system of the Spanish social hierarchy could never rise from his inferior position as the palace painter. It is probable that Van Dyck would not have endured for a single day the obligations encumbent upon Velásquez as

aposentador (court chamber steward), a duty involving the care of the hall-ways dirtied and soiled during the night by soldiers, or the *pots de chambre* of his Majesty.⁸

The saying about the rich man's difficulty in getting into heaven might well have applied to Van Dyck. Yet so excellent an artist as Gainsborough spoke on his deathbed to Reynolds about meeting Van Dyck in the hereafter: "We shall all meet in Heaven—and Van Dyck will be of the company." He thought of the Fleming only as an artist, for it is doubtful that if he had encountered him in real life he would have admired that artificial and attitudinizing nature that was so contrary to his own.

In his art, however, Van Dyck's character appears chastened, purified, the result of great mental suffering born of a tormented imagination. Great art cannot be created without suffering, whether it be caused by deplorable external conditions (which did not exist in Van Dyck's case), or by the self-inflicted pain of the artist's own nature. All felicity, wealth, social advantage, beauty, perfect manners, or commerce with great men, is of no avail if the native temperament is not disposed for the enjoyment of these gifts. And Van Dyck obviously was not. His delicate constitution and over-taxed nervous system can be blamed for this; he was the seventh child and lost his mother in early youth, who might have saved him from over-exertion.

That he identified himself with the martyrs is apparent from those paintings in which he introduced himself as the hero, disguised in biblical or historical guise: he is sacrificed as Isaac; tormented as St. Sebastian; and as Icarus is suffered to fall into the depths of the sea as the penalty for rising too close to the sun.

Van Dyck, possessed of an incredible nervous energy, lived under a continual strain, driven to put superhuman effort into his work. To judge from the mass of paintings he left—twice as many as produced by such prolific artists as Rembrandt and Frans Hals who lived almost twice as long—he must have worked from dawn to dark with astonishing rapidity. A few testimonies describe his manner of working. Walpole records a story told by Lely, who had it from Nicolas Lanier, the great musician at the English court, that when Van Dyck painted his portrait he had to sit to the artist for seven days, morning to night, and was only permitted to take his meals. Nor was he allowed to look at the picture until Van Dyck was content with it himself.⁹ This procedure was at a time before Van Dyck became accustomed to hourly sittings of his models during the busy years of his later English period.

More revealing than even these later portraits are some of the early religious compositions such as *Christ Taken Prisoner* (Fig. 9), the *Adoration of the Serpent* (Fig. 8), *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, *St. Jerome* (Fig. 10),¹⁰ *St. Sebastian*, and some of the apostles. They are painted in rapid succession, the same motif executed sometimes not only once but two or three times, one after another and always with essential changes; the brushwork speaking of a fervor and ecstasy which must have taken everything out of the artist. The swift, diagonal brush strokes, aflame with intensity, remind us of Van Gogh. Something of his neurotic temperament is forecast in Van Dyck; it comes to the surface in his restlessness and constant changes of place, in the mad extravagance of his mode of life, and in the vacillation of his moods which resulted at times in carelessly painted portraits, superficial and unanimated, following upon supreme mental efforts in compositions that were near to his heart.

While the Dutch masters of his time, Frans Hals, Rembrandt, Vermeer, never left their small, native land, this young Fleming surpassed even Rubens, who was the first international traveler among the great artists. But while Rubens never left his own country for very long, Van Dyck spent more than half of his life in other countries. In Italy, where Rubens stayed barely a year, Van Dyck remained for seven, covering far greater distances than Rubens in travels up and down the peninsula. His nervous energy could be stimulated only by constantly changing impressions, by a restless moving from one place to another. We may well believe that he lived a distracted life in England, a prey to his overwrought nerves, but it did not alter the rapid tempo of his working hours.

The strenuousness of his labor was increased by a premonition of early death. He was twenty-nine when he made his first will. He once left Sicily precipitously in fear of the pestilence. After his return to Antwerp he threw himself into the arms of the Church, trying through his religious ecstasy, expressed in scenes of the Passion, to overcome his fear of death and, in repentance of his sins, giving several altarpieces to religious orders, quite out of keeping with his usual habit of painting for profit. Most of his fortune was left to charity.

Thus the mental tortures of an unstrung and disturbed nature never allowed the enjoyment of any real happiness which the brilliant success of his career might have brought him.

If we are reminded of Van Gogh in the great religious compositions of the young Van Dyck, with their wildly ecstatic and visionary embodiments, the

resemblance is not accidental. There are not only similar personal characteristics in the two Netherlandish artists, but also similarities between the times in which they lived. Those works of Van Dyck in which the whole composition is wrought of a whirlpool of agitated curves culminating in flamelike hands stretching towards heaven (like Van Gogh's cypresses) still adhere to the epoch of the early Rubens and the late Greco. This time is commonly called the era of mannerism, wrongly so, as the term is pejorative, the result of a nineteenth century conception which wished to charge the style with an intellectual formalism. But these works are in reality the results of great exaltation of the spirit, in which intellect shrinks to nothing under the upsurge of tremendous emotion. They are the expression of times when two ages break asunder, unloosening chaos, revolution and war, and when the best of the contemporary men are stirred emotionally to the breaking point.

Similar situations occur at similar constellations of art history before and after the "manneristic" era of about 1600, that is before, around 1400 and 1500, and after, around 1800 and 1900. The term "transitional" given to these periods is as inappropriate as that of "mannerism." The greatest artists are often such "transitional" masters as Claus Sluter and Jacopo della Quercia around 1400; the young Dürer and Grünewald around 1500; Blake around 1800; and Van Gogh around 1900. The periods connected with these men are high tides of spiritual awareness, and we may question whether the epochs following them might not better be called "transitional," since they succeed them as low ebbs of emotional expression.

In England this is certainly the case. There it becomes clear how erroneous is the description "mannerism" or "transition" for the Elizabethan period when we consider that Shakespeare's art is one of emotional eruption, probably the greatest, engendered by the overwhelming break of two ages. Van Dyck's early art, before 1620, belongs to the explosive, dramatic age of Shakespeare, while the later work of his English period is reflective of the calmer style of an epoch of elegiac and lyrical poetry in the post-Shakespearian England of Charles I.

¹ It is true that while all of these stories may not correspond exactly to the actual events, they have been too easily discarded by modern art historians, despite the fact that they can frequently be traced back to reliable contemporary sources. This is the case with Bellori, whose account of Van Dyck's life goes back to Kenelm Digby, the artist's friend, whom Bellori met in Rome; with Roger de Piles who heard his stories from Jabach, the great banker and art patron who was thrice painted by Van Dyck; and even with Weyerman who, it is true, writes in an ornate manner but who in his biography twice mentions the names of persons, contemporary with Van Dyck, who reported these anecdotes to him. It is now the custom to relegate *Künstler Anekdoten* to a position of later inventions, especially when episodes in their contents appear again in the lives of other artists. But there is no reason why similar or corresponding events should not occur in the careers of different artists, as the creative temperament has been the same at all periods. In addition, the stories told by Van Dyck have a peculiar flavor which seems characteristic only of him and which accords convincingly with the picture of him built out of the documents as well as out of his work.

² Fierens-Gevaert, *Van Dyck (Les Grands Artistes)*, Paris (n.d.), p. 87. The painting representing the *Madonna and Child with St. Catherine*, which Gerbier took to England, has been identified by Dr. Glück (*Klassiker der Kunst*, 1931, p. 543) with the one in the Museum in Chicago (from the A. A. Sprague collection), the original version according to him being the similar composition in the W. Timken collection, New York (formerly Duke of Westminster) which undoubtedly is a great masterpiece. If the Chicago version was executed by Van Dyck with the help of pupils he could call it either an original or a copy, according to his convenience.

³ G. Glück, "Van Dyck's Apostelfolge," in *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, 1933, p. 288.

⁴ G. Glück, *Klassiker der Kunst*, p. 518.

⁵ Reprinted by L. Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck*, 1905, p. 21.

⁶ The sums which Van Dyck received from the King, even if less than what he demanded, were still considerable. Most of the receipts are preserved (publ. by W. H. Carpenter, *Antoine Van Dyck*, trans. by L. Hymans, Antwerp, 1845), and it is interesting to compare his increasing demands and what he actually received. To compute the value of money at that time in terms of our own, it must be multiplied about ten times. Weyerman tells us that Van Dyck preferred the English to the French in the extent and rate of payment. In addition to his annual salary of 200 pounds, Van Dyck received payment for the individual paintings he executed for the King. In 1632 this came to 280 pounds, at a rate of twenty-five pounds each for several portraits of the royal family, including that of Charles. The following year he received 200 pounds in February (probably his salary), and again in May the sum of 444 pounds for individual paintings. Then in October 110 pounds more were forthcoming for a portrait of the Queen and one of Lord Wentworth. From 1633-1636 there is a gap in the payments, which was partly due to the fact that during that time Van Dyck was in the Netherlands and partly because he was probably painting portraits for other members of the English nobility. In February, 1637, a large payment was made to Van Dyck from the King, which came to 1200 pounds for single paintings. In December of the following year he received 603 pounds for individual works and 1000 pounds as back payment for five years' salary. The last recorded payment is dated February, 1637, when he was given 305 pounds. It seems very desirable that all documents regarding Van Dyck should be published in the same manner as Hofstede de Groot has published those on Rembrandt and E. K. Chambers those on Shakespeare. The only publication of this kind containing some of the more important documents, but in no way complete, appeared more than a hundred years ago: W. H. Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices Consisting of a Memoir of Anton Van Dyck*, London, 1844, a publication very difficult to secure. I have to thank Dr. Glück for letting me use his copy of the French translation of the Carpenter book by L. Hymans (Antwerp, 1845).

⁷ Reprinted by Carpenter-Hyman, 1845, p. 38.

⁸ C. Justi, *Diego Velasquez und sein Jahrhundert*, 1933, pp. 604-607.

⁹ *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, III, 125-126. Cf. also Carpenter-Hyman, p. 27.

¹⁰ The remarkable painting here published for the first time is the one belonging originally to Rubens and sold after his death to Philip IV of Spain for 500 guilders (mentioned by Glück, *Klassiker der Kunst*, p. 525). The painting in the Stockholm Museum (*Klassiker der Kunst*, p. 57) is a second version.

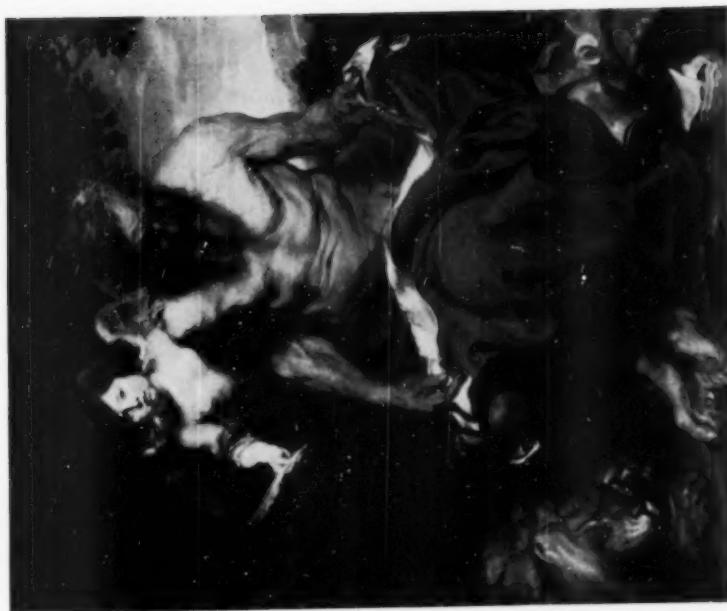


Fig. 10. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *St. Jerome*
New York, David Bingham Collection

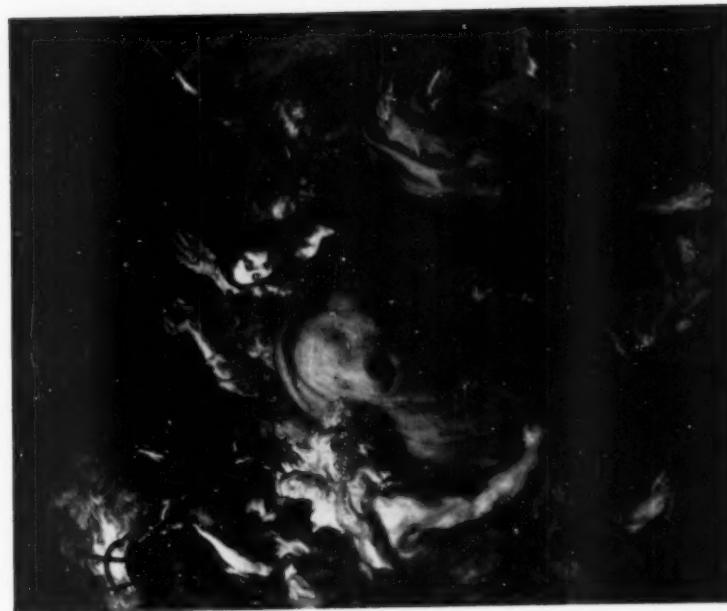


Fig. 9. ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Christ Taken Prisoner*
Corsham, Capt. Paul Methuen

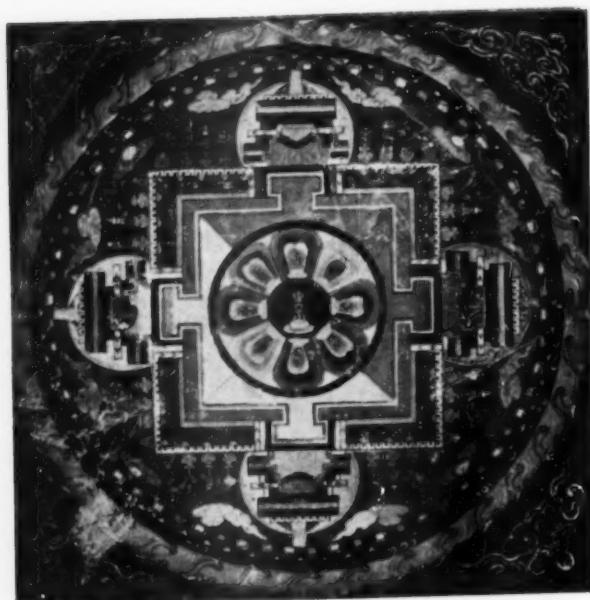


Fig. 1. A simple form of Tibetan Mandala
Collection of the Writer



Fig. 2. HAN DYNASTY, "TIE" Mirror
Collection of the Writer

SUGGESTED ORIGIN OF THE TIBETAN MANDALA PAINTINGS

By SCHUYLER CAMMANN

THE Tibetan Buddhist mandala is basically a diagram of the universe as the lamas conceive it, serving as a frame for assemblies of deities or for their symbols (Fig. 1). We shall see that there are two varieties of mandala, similar in pattern but differing in coloring and in their use. Those of the first type have traditionally been painted on the ceilings of shrines and temples to establish the metaphysical axis of the structure, and as such we might describe them as "ceiling mandalas"; while the second are customarily placed on the floor, or on an altar and used in rites of worship, especially for attempts to secure magic powers, thus we could call them "floor mandalas."¹ Western authorities on Buddhism generally state that the mandala form came to Tibet from India with Tantric forms of Buddhism, in the eighth century A.D., as one of the institutions introduced by the guru Padma Sambhava, the chief founder of Lamaism.² However this, like many of the current generalities on subjects of Asiatic art and cultural history, seems open to question.

The writer has recently been studying the so-called "TLV" pattern on Chinese mirrors of the Han Dynasty (in use from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 100), which seems also to have been a diagram of the universe as it was conceived by the people of that time and their immediate ancestors.³ The course of this research brought out most strikingly the apparent similarity between the main features of the mirror pattern, as shown in Figure 2, and the corresponding details of the mandala frame.⁴

At first glance the resemblance between the two patterns is quite obvious in spite of the differences in the accessory figures that fill in the backgrounds of both.

The inner circle, or core, of each is the essential part, the focal part of the whole diagram. On the Han mirrors this is emphasized by the prominent boss, which represented—among other things—the omphalos or center of the world.⁵ To the lamas, the center of the mandala has not only been considered as being the center of the universe, but more specifically as a representation of the metaphysical Sun at the focal point of creation. This is especially appropriate when the mandala is figured on the ceiling. Very possibly the Han mirror bosses had the same connotation, since they were customarily left

severely free from decoration and highly burnished. On the mandala, the central circle frames either a chief deity who is considered as being the lord of the universe, or the symbol of such a deity. In Figure 1 it is the latter, in the form of a Buddhist thunderbolt or *vajra*.

Around the central disc on both mirrors and mandalas is another figure with four or eight projections (rarely these are in higher multiples of eight). The one on the mirror in Figure 2 is formed by a four-pronged device known in later Chinese civilization as the "cloud collar" (*yün-chien*), with four intermediate projections, making eight in all; while the correspondingly-placed figure on the mandala is generally an eight-petaled lotus. In each case this portion is enclosed in a square with T-shaped projections. The T's on the mirror backs apparently represented the four gates of the "Middle Kingdom" or China, at the center of the world—as indicated by a number of analogies in early Chinese literature;⁶ while the T's on the mandala diagrams are almost invariably crowned with elaborate gate structures to emphasize their similar functions, as shown in Figure 1.

On the Han mirrors this whole central complex occupies the center of a cross, which is marked off by the "V's"; and each arm of the cross was considered as representing one of the Four Directions. This is indicated by the figures of the "Four Spirits" (*Ssu Shēn*), guardians of the directions—tortoise (and snake), bird, dragon, and tiger—one in each arm. Both the literary allusions and their actual decoration indicate that these outer squares, which formed the arms of the cross, were also apparently considered as representing the "Four Seas," a figurative expression for the lands of the wild men and wild beasts beyond the gates of the "Middle Kingdom."⁷

This latter concept is missing on the typical Lama mandala, which does not have the four outer rectangles; and the Four Directions are indicated on the mandala by symbolic colors within the T's, rather than by animal symbols. However, a final correspondence between mirror and mandala lies in the fact that in both cases the outer circle is considered as representing the rim of the dome of the sky (which is often miscalled the "dome of Heaven" by modern writers who fail to grasp the distinction). On a number of the Han mirrors, such as the one here illustrated, this feature is indicated by a kind of continuous cloud band on the raised outer rim.

If the Tibetan mandala form actually did come from India in the eighth century, as has been claimed, it would seem surprising to find such correspondences with the mirror patterns of Han China, so far removed from

medieval India in place and time. An especially significant point of similarity is the T-shaped projection to indicate a gate; for this is by no means an obvious symbol for representing a gateway, and hence it is not likely to have occurred independently in two separate regions.

Either there is no real connection between the Han mirror and the Tibetan mandala—which would mean that the closely corresponding elements were the result of some mutual borrowing or mere coincidence—or else the prevailing view as to the origin of the mandala would need to be revised. In an effort to settle this point let us examine the later development of the "TLV" pattern, together with the various steps in the origin of the Lama mandala as far as we can trace them.

Figure 3 shows a mirror pattern of the later Six Dynasties, or the Sui period.⁸ It was made some five centuries after the Han mirrors but it shows a further development of the same general cosmic ideas. Note that while the T's and L's are no longer shown, the basic pattern still consists of a prominent central boss surrounded by a quatrefoil, placed in a square, within a cross, inside the circular rim of the sky-dome. Note, too, that the arms of the cross still stand for the Four Directions as indicated by the presence of the Four Spirits.

A little later in time than the mirror in Figure 3 but closely related to its pattern, was a type of Buddhist diagram found at Tun-huang on China's northwest frontier by Sir Aurel Stein (Fig. 4).⁹ This type, and a second which we shall consider in a moment, represent the earliest Buddhist sacred diagrams that have survived. They have been described as "primitive mandalas," but they are incomplete as mandalas since they merely represent the conventionalized Earth without the Sky, and thus do not portray the symbolic universe in its entirety, which causes them to fall into another category.

The example shown in Figure 4 presents a plan in which an unspecified Buddha (represented merely by the character *Fo*) is conceived as occupying the center of an eight-petaled lotus in a central square within a cross. The end of each arm of the cross is labeled "North Gate," "East Gate," "South Gate," and "West Gate," which explains why the T's are no longer shown around the inner square. The gates have been moved outward to the extremities of the cross-shaped world, instead of remaining to emphasize the exclusive character of the central region.

The second, and far more common type of Buddhist diagram found at Tun-huang, has many variations in details, but the frame is fairly standard throughout, as indicated by the sketch in Figure 5.¹⁰ This has an inner circle

for a deity, surrounded by an eight-part figure, which is generally made up of eight lotus petals as shown here, or by eight *vajra* heads.¹¹ (The important thing is not the actual device used but the number eight, or any other multiple of four or eight—such a number having solar significance; for the center of the diagram was apparently now considered as representing the Sun—the metaphysical, not the natural, one—whether or not it had before this.) Around this inner portion, in turn, is a series of concentric rectangles arranged to give the effect of a single square set off by T's.

In the colored examples of this second type, described but not illustrated in Stein's reports, the T's have been given the colors of the Four Directions.¹² When colors are used, they are the same ones that were assigned to the Dhyani Buddhas, the Buddhas of the Five Directions (North, East, South, West, and Center) whose cult is believed to have developed in Central Asia in the general region to which Tun-huang belonged. These are: green for North; yellow for South; blue for East; and red for West.¹³ Most significantly, these are not the colors used to symbolize the directions in either China or India, so they must have come from another culture, presumably in Central Asia.

Closely related to this second type of Tun-huang diagram, and in several respects apparently a direct descendant of the Han mirror pattern that we have been considering, is a modern Tibetan sacred diagram of the *yantra* type now in the Newark Museum (Fig. 6).¹⁴ On this painting the part corresponding to the "Middle Kingdom" of the Han pattern is conceived as a realm of the spirit presided over by a deity symbolized by the Sanskrit syllable in the center. It seems significant that even though the *yantra* diagrams of Tibet and Hindu India do not generally have gate structures figured over the T's the way the mandalas do, the T's themselves on these diagrams are spoken of as "gates of the Earth."¹⁵ And note that beyond the T's here, are actual waves with sea monsters, as though the ancient Chinese expression "Four Seas" was being taken literally by an alien people who failed to understand that this was properly a figurative term for the lands beyond the pale. This latter device, by the way, is apparently not a Tibetan innovation, as actual seas were indicated on one of the *yantra*-like diagrams found at Tun-huang, according to the descriptions in Stein's *Serindia*.¹⁶

In addition to its close resemblance in form to the Tun-huang diagrams this Tibetan *yantra* painting also has the Four Directions indicated in the particular colors that were used on them. We also find this same convention for the colors of the directions used on the whole class of Tibetan mandalas which were



Fig. 3. *Four Spirits Mirror with Inverted Animals*
Lambert Collection



Fig. 4. *First type of Buddhist diagram*
from Tun-huang

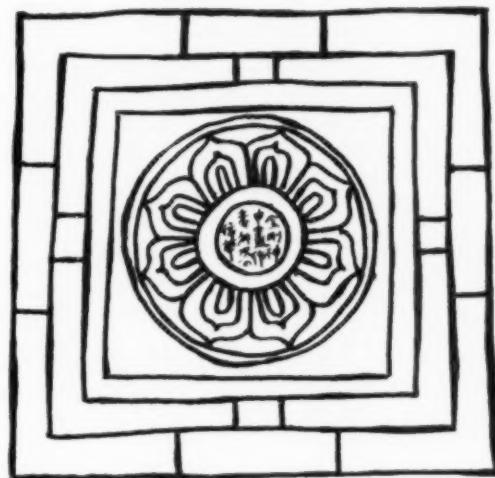


Fig. 5. *Second type of Buddhist diagram* from
Tun-huang showing typical frame

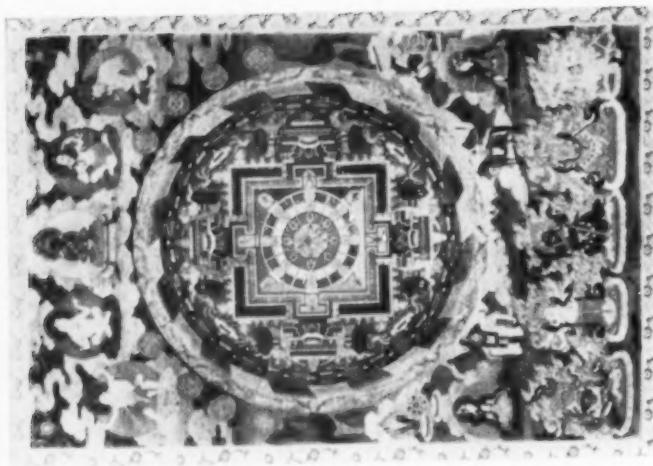


Fig. 7. Highly developed form of Tibetan Mandala
Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art



Fig. 6. Tibetan Yantra Painting
Newark Museum

customarily placed flat on floor, dais, or altar for special ceremonies, and which because of their function we have called "floor mandalas."¹⁷ In fact the latter may well have been derived from the Tun-huang diagrams; and it seems not unlikely that these in turn may have originated from cosmic mirrors which were placed on floor or altar as an object of meditation.

The second, and more usual type of Tibetan Buddhist mandala (Fig. 1), what we have called the "ceiling" variety, has a very different arrangement of colors for the Four Directions. The lamas use for these the traditional Indian colors: yellow or gold for North; blue or green for South; white for East; and red for West. Yet note that in these mandalas—which were originally made for temples having an East-West orientation and hence have East and West on the vertical axis—the directions according to the colors would come out as North, South, West and East. The first two are in their proper order, but the last two have been inverted, and they can only be made to fit the compass directions by holding the mandala face down overhead. Then they assume the proper order of North, South, East and West. This is because the usual place for this principal type of Tibetan Buddhist mandala in the lama temples has traditionally been on the ceiling, usually in the center of a cupola—as the writer has personally observed in lama temples of archaic types on the eastern and western borders of Tibet and in Inner Mongolia. Fundamental as are the East-West orientation of the mandala, and the inverted order of the directions on this most common type, these points have usually been overlooked by Western students of Lamaism.¹⁸

The esoteric reasons to explain why these mandalas were painted on the ceiling are intimately bound up with the inner meaning of the mandala and its relation to the so-called "Dome of Heaven" concept; but since these are rather involved, we shall wait to discuss them at another time. Briefly, the motives for placing the mandala in the center of the ceiling are practically identical with the metaphysical reasons for which the Chinese used to hang a mirror from the roof of their tomb vaults,¹⁹ and apparently from the ceiling of their temples as well;²⁰ it was in order to establish the axis of the universe-in-microcosm symbolized by the whole structure, and to indicate the supernal Sun, or Sun-gate, at its summit. This was a Taoist (pre-Buddhist) concept in China.

Now if we look back at the Six Dynasties mirror shown in Figure 3, and examine it more closely, we can see that the Four Spirits as depicted on this are also in inverted order. The animals of the East and West are in their

right places, but those of North and South are interchanged, and they only fall into their proper order corresponding to the compass points when the mirror is held overhead with the pattern-side down.

This mirror is by no means an isolated example, and specimens of this type dating as far back as the Later Han Dynasty suggest that some of the mirrors in Chinese tombs and temples must have been hung from the ceiling with the pattern-side down.²¹ In fact, they may have been used in this manner for some time before anyone thought about rearranging the symbols of the Four Directions to correspond to the inverted order.

In short, the principal type of Lama Buddhist mandala used in Tibet and Mongolia to the present day, the "ceiling mandala," could very well have been derived from "TLV" mirrors which were hung—perhaps pattern-side down—from the ceilings of earlier Chinese temples and shrines for religio-magical reasons.

It may have been noted that there is a difference of orientation between the mirror with inverted animals and the typical ceiling mandala. The top of the mirror represents South, while the ceiling mandala properly has West at the top. This is accounted for by a difference in the orientation of temples and shrines between China and Tibet, and the fact that each was intended to be viewed from a different point below. However the same mirror could be used in either case. For, whether the symbol of the South were placed at the top for use in a building with North-South axis, or whether the mirror were turned to show East or West at the top for a building with an East-West axis, when suspended pattern-side down and oriented, the four creatures on its decoration will still correspond to the proper directions in either case.²² Thus, such a mirror could have served just as effectively on the ceiling of a Central Asian or Tibetan temple as in a Chinese one with a different orientation.

Let us see how this development from hanging mirror to ceiling mandala might have taken place. Given a ritual need for hanging a mirror from the ceiling, it might not always have been possible to obtain the finely ornamented bronze ones, particularly on remote frontiers. Sir Aurel Stein found a few broken fragments of "TLV" mirrors in Chinese Central Asia,²³ but as such mirrors were highly prized in China proper, they were probably seldom obtainable out there. In this case, the logical step would have been to paint a circular pattern, substantially following that on the back of a Chinese cosmic mirror, directly on the ceiling or on the under side of the ridgepole—as is still done in the remoter parts of Yunnan, on China's southwestern frontier.²⁴ Then the

final step in the evolution of the ceiling mandala would have been to fill this basic pattern with the Buddhas, bodhisattvas and other deities of Mahayana Buddhism, after this religion was introduced from India.

Among the other new elements introduced by Indian influence was the addition of crossed *vajras* to support the central square—their ends may be seen projecting beyond the gates over the T's—as well as a huge lotus flower conceived of as upholding the entire mandala, with its petals extending out beyond the circular rim of the sky-boundary. These represent respectively the "diamond (*vajra*) foundation" of the world and the cosmic lotus, both of which are purely Indian concepts. These elements are obviously late additions, as they are not found on either the "TLV" mirrors or the early Buddhist diagrams recovered in Central Asia,²⁵ and they may well have been added in India itself where the mandala idea was greatly developed in Bengal and Kashmir during medieval times.²⁶

The mandala in Figure 7 not only illustrates the later complexity of these diagrams but also demonstrates another, more modern development, the use of both "floor" and "ceiling" mandalas as banners to be hung on the wall, where originally they had never belonged. Note in this painting the addition of numerous other elements outside the mandala proper. The background has been painted to represent a highly stylized landscape; its upper half showing the sky with the sun and moon, and the lower half depicting mountains and plains with rivers, altogether making a naturalistic representation of the universe. Thus the mandala proper can here be said to portray a universe within a universe. The surrounding figures of Buddhas, saints, guardians and benevolent demons on such a banner are all extraneous as far as the mandala itself is concerned, and may vary greatly on different paintings which have the same mandala as their center.²⁷ For nothing outside the outer circle of the mandala proper is considered as being a part of it.²⁸

It would seem that if this transition from actual bronze mirror to painted diagrams really did take place, as we have suggested, that it must have been carried out either by early Chinese Taoists or by Tibetan shamans or priests of the pre-Buddhist Bon religion of Tibet, which appears to have been either an outgrowth of earlier Chinese Taoism or strongly influenced by it.²⁹ In any case the ceiling mandalas are apparently not found among the medieval Chinese Buddhist remains in Tun-huang, or elsewhere, nor are they found in Indian lands before about the ninth century, as far as we know.³⁰ It is true that the Hindus did have much cosmic symbolism in their culture from early times,

and they did represent the universe in symbolic form by lotus patterns, as well as architecturally by stupa and prasada structures;³¹ but there is no evidence that they used diagrams of the mandala and *yantra* types before the development of Tantric Buddhism.

This brings us back to the conventional statement that the Lama Buddhist mandala form came from India to Tibet with the introduction of Buddhism, in its Tantric form, to the latter country. The answer to this is that, in spite of generally prevailing views, it would appear that the cult of Tantric Buddhism did not originate in India; and that Tibet may well have had a hand in transmitting some of the Tantric practices and beliefs southward into India, instead of vice versa.

For the fact remains that, suddenly in the Middle Ages, we find in India a new religious development, the cult of the Tantras. In addition to the use of mandala and *yantra* diagrams for worship and magic, which were practices apparently previously unknown in India, this form of religion involved worship by means of the five M's (so-called because the Sanskrit names for the rites all begin with M). These were: (1) eating meat; (2) eating fish; (3) drinking alcohol; (4) making mystic hand gestures; and (5) ritual fornication.³² With the possible exception of the fourth, such practices were strictly contrary to the traditional regulations of ancient Indian teaching and ethics, and as far as we know they had also been previously unknown in Indian religion.³³ Yet they rapidly became assimilated, corrupting and helping to destroy Indian Buddhism, and becoming the foundation of Yogic practices, which have thoroughly permeated Hinduism, completely altering its original character.³⁴

The source of many, if not most, of the early Tantric writings which prescribed these practices is unknown. However, several of them frankly claim China for their origin, as Sylvain Lévi, the great French Orientalist has pointed out.³⁵ And furthermore, the various practices mentioned above as being so contrary to orthodox Indian teaching were all present in early Chinese Taoism.³⁶ Also, we know that the Prince of Assam, in Northeastern India, was much interested in Taoism in the seventh century,³⁷ and it seems rather significant that the two great centers of Tantric beliefs in medieval India were Kashmir and Bengal, the regions which had the closest relations with both Tibet and China.³⁸ The penetration of Chinese influences into Kashmir would have come primarily through Chinese Turkestan, and it was there, as we have seen, that Stein found some fragments of "TLV" mirrors as well as the earliest

Buddhist diagrams. Meanwhile the route from China to Assam and Bengal led through Yunnan, and it is in that province that they still paint circular cosmic diagrams on the ridgepole at the central axis of their dwellings, in addition to having fully developed mandalas on the topmost ceilings of the temples.³⁹

We have heard much about China borrowing Buddhism and its related culture elements from India;⁴⁰ but as Sylvain Lévi further remarks, two great races do not enter into lasting relations without mutual borrowing and lending;⁴¹ and if India gave Buddhism to China, China must have exerted reciprocally on India an influence which still remains to be determined.⁴² In this regard he complained, however, that the history of borrowings made by India are difficult to trace in view of the great scarcity of historical documents. But here is a case where visual examples of the development of cultural institutions, such as is provided by the evolution of the mandala diagrams, can be of inestimable value, filling the gaps in the historical record. The apparent history of the development of the Tibetan Buddhist mandala and the related features of Tantric ritual would seem to suggest a new historical hypothesis. It would appear that while Indian Buddhist teachings carried to China ultimately conquered the indigenous religion of Taoism and virtually destroyed it as a living religion, Chinese Taoist beliefs carried into India may have altered and ultimately destroyed Buddhism there, and so influenced the stronger Hindu faith that it became in effect an entirely new religion.

In conclusion then, we suggest that the mandala and *yantra* diagrams, with the associated rituals, came into Indian culture with Tantric influences in Buddhism and Hinduism during the medieval period, and that they probably represent the fusion of an early Chinese diagram of the universe with later iconographic elements from Indian Buddhism.

¹ The Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit word *mandala* is *kyilkhor*. Some Occidental writers refer to these diagrams as "magic circles," which strictly speaking would apply only to the "floor mandalas." For descriptions of how the latter are used, see Arthur Avalon, editor, *Tantrik Texts*, VII (Calcutta, 1919), xvii and 21 ff; and the article "Tantrism (Buddhist)" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 196. These practices were not confined to the lamas, as may be seen by reading the article "Magic Circles" in the same *Encyclopaedia*, VIII, 321 ff.

² For the alleged Indian origin of the mandala, see A. C. Soper, "The Dome of Heaven in Asia," *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX (1947), 226-227, and L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1939, p. 144. Waddell, *ibid.*, p. 266, note 2, mentions Padma Sambhava's use of a mandala diagram.

³ See S. Cammann, "The 'TLV' Pattern on Cosmic Mirrors of the Han Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXVIII (1948), 159-167.

⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 163 and note 36. The writer had been conscious of the apparent interrelation for some time but had not had an opportunity to work it out; see S. Cammann, "A Rare Tang Mirror," *The Art Quarterly*, IX (1946), 110, note 17.

⁵ As is frequent in Chinese symbolism, the mirror boss apparently had varying associations for different people, depending on the point of view of the beholder. See Cammann, "TLV Pattern," p. 162.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 161 and note 20; and M. Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, New York, 1930, p. 77.

⁸ This example is in the Lambert collection and was taken from R. W. Swallow, *Ancient Chinese Bronze Mirrors*, Peiping, 1937, no. 603. (The other photographs were made by Reuben Goldberg of the University Museum, Philadelphia, to whom the writer is deeply grateful.) A similar example is illustrated in the *Po-ku t'u-lu* (A.D. 1107), 29.15.

⁹ Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, Oxford, 1921, IV, pl. CII, Ch. 00186, and the description in II, 979.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, pl. CII, Ch. 00187, and description in II, 974. We have redrawn this for figure 5 to show the basic details more clearly.

¹¹ For examples with the *vajras* see *ibid.*, II, 979, Ch. 00219 and 00398.

¹² See description of Ch. 00190, *Ibid.*, II, 975.

¹³ See Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, chart on pp. 350-351.

¹⁴ For a definition of the *yantra* and explanations of their use, see Arthur Avalon, *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, London, 1913, pp. xci-xiv. See also Percival Landon, *Nepal*, London, 1928, II, 316-317.

¹⁵ In the Sanskrit terminology, used in both India and Tibet, the square with its projecting T's has traditionally been called *bhupura*, "the citadel of the Earth," while the T's themselves are known as *dvāra*, meaning "door" or "gate."

¹⁶ See description of Ch. 00189, *Serindia* II, 974.

¹⁷ Most "floor mandalas" and *yantras* are painted on sized cloth, like the usual Tibetan paintings, but some are drawn on the floor with powdered pigments or colored butter, in a manner recalling the Navajo sand paintings. See F. D. Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung*, Stockholm, 1942, pl. XXVI, 2; and pl. XXIX, 3 and 4.

¹⁸ See for example, Erwin Rouselle, "Ein lamaistisches Vajra Mandala," *Sinica*, IV (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1929), 265 ff. In this article the author describes and discusses a hanging mandala derived from the "ceiling" form, with red for West at the top; white for East below, green for South at the right, and yellow for North at the left. But he considers the diagram as though it were a European map with North at the top, and assumes that the other colors must correspond to the usual directions on such a map, thus he erroneously speaks of red at the North, white at the South, green at the East, and yellow at the West (*ibid.*, p. 266), giving the reader a totally false impression.

¹⁹ See B. Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, Leyden, 1909, p. 313 and fig. 55.

²⁰ We can infer this from Buddhist temples in Japan which have survived from medieval times, and which in almost every respect contain borrowings from China. For example, the Kanzeonji Temple in Fukuoka had set in a canopy hanging from the ceiling a poorer copy of the fine Tang mirror now in Seattle, which was described by the writer in "A Rare Tang Mirror." This is pictured and described in the *Kanzeonji Ōkagami*, Tokyo, 1934, pl. 46; p. 6 of the English text, and p. 12 of the Japanese. The writer is indebted to Professor A. C. Soper for this reference. Professor James M. Plumer, while serving on the Arts and Monuments Commission in Japan, inspected this mirror for the writer (it is now at the National Museum in Tokyo), and he pronounced it distinctly inferior to the Seattle one, of which it might have been a copy.

²¹ The Ch'ing imperial catalogue of bronzes, *Hsi Ch'ing ku-chien*, 39.25, pictures a mirror of a typical Han type with the four creatures arranged in this inverted fashion; while the earlier Sung catalogue, *Po-ku t'u-lu*, 30.11, shows a Tang iron mirror with this feature. Since iron mirrors would probably never have been very effective as reflectors, and as practically all the Tang iron mirrors pictured in this catalogue have definite cosmic symbolism in their decoration, we might reasonably assume that they were cast for ritual, rather than for personal, use. George Hewitt Myers of Washington, D. C. has a medieval Korean bronze mirror with a bold square-in-circle pattern and the inverted animals.

²² The reader can easily verify this for himself. If he takes a card and draws on it the diagram W  E, then

S N N S
E W E W
reverses any two of the opposite letters (W + E or E + W) and holds the card face down overhead with the N pointing to true North, he will observe that, in either case, the other three letters will then conform to the corresponding compass points.

²² See M. A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Oxford, 1928, III, pl. XXIV, L. A. 0107, and L. C. 021; and *Serindia*, IV, pl. XXIX, L. B. v. 006.

²³ The Farmhouses and homesteads of Northern Yunnan have painted on the middle of the ridgepole, at the central axis of the house, a circular pattern consisting of the *tai-chi* and the *pa-kua*, which together form a type of space-time diagram that is essentially akin to the mandala. See S. Cammann, "Symbols in Yunnanese Art and Architecture," in the *Kunming Guidebook*, Kunming, 1945.

²⁴ These foundation *varas* must not be confused with the functionally different *varas* which sometimes framed the central disc on some of the Tun-huang diagrams as referred to in note 11 above.

²⁵ An early twelfth century Indian Buddhist in Bengal, Abhayākaragupta, wrote a long treatise on mandalas, mentioning some twenty-six complex varieties. This volume, the *Nispannayogavāli*, has recently been reprinted (in the original Sanskrit) with an English introduction, by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, in Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. CIX, Baroda, 1949. It may be significant in view of the fact that the mandala form very possibly originated north of India, that Abhayākaragupta lived and worked at a monastery much frequented by Tibetan monks, and may have visited Tibet himself (see *ibid.*, p. 10). Some of the complex variations of the medieval mandalas in Kashmir and adjacent regions of Western Tibet are illustrated in G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, III, part 1, Rome, 1935, pls. LXXIX and LXXX, and in other volumes of the same important work.

²⁶ See Antoinette Gordon, *Lamaist Iconography*, New York, 1939, pl. facing p. 26, for an even more typical example of the fully developed banner type of mandala with the addition of divine figures outside the diagram proper.

²⁷ This basic fact was apparently unknown to one of the admirers of the psychologist Jung. (See Jolán Jacobi, *The Psychology of Jung*, New Haven, 1943, pl. E and text p. 129.) In an attempt to illustrate "the practical application of Jung's theory," this disciple has taken the photograph of a Tibetan mandala banner with Lama saints added above the mandala and a group of Hindu gods below, and published it as an example of "the balance or reconciliation of opposites," describing it as having "the gods of heaven above" and "the underworld with all its demons below." Not only do these badly misunderstood figures have nothing to do with the mandala around which they are painted, but the two groups do not represent any concept of polarity. In fact, except for the comparatively rare instances in which the center of a mandala is occupied by a deity embracing his consort or *sakti*, Tibetan Buddhist mandalas in general are completely lacking in symbols of "the reconciliation of opposites," which the Jung school appears to believe are the essence of all mandalas. There are certainly no contrasting deities, or symbols, in the opposite quarters of the Lama mandalas; all are strictly equivalent.

²⁸ See Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 19, for example.

²⁹ The earliest Indian examples known to the writer are those he saw in an eleventh century temple at Alchi in Ladakh, but these may have been repainted when the temple was restored in the sixteenth century.

³⁰ For a discussion of the place of these beliefs in Indian art and architecture see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Symbolism of the Dome," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIV (1938), 1-36.

³¹ The *pacitcamāra*, or *pacitcatavā*: *mātā*, *mātāya*, *mādya*, *mudrā*, and *maisbuna*. See the *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, pp. cxi ff.

³² Other characteristically non-Indian features of this cult were the complete disregard of caste among its members, the recognition of the right of women to become "adepts," and the worship of a new goddess named Tara (Ta-lo in Chinese) who was apparently a chief divinity of the early Taoists. See *ibid.*, Introduction.

³³ The concept of *Yoga* in its highest form (the idea of ultimate union with the Infinite) had been mentioned earlier in Indian works, but these practices do not seem to have been. Meanwhile there had been a long tradition of yogic practices in China since several centuries before the Christian era, if not earlier. See Arthur Waley, *The Way and its Power*, Boston and New York, 1942, pp. 44, 116 ff.

³⁴ Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, 1905, I, 345, 347.

³⁵ See for example the brief references in L. C. Goodrich, *A Short History of the Chinese People*, New York, 1943, pp. 66, 68, and the long, detailed discussion by Henri Maspero, "Les procédures de 'Nourrir le Prince Vital' dans la religion Taoïste ancienne," *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXIX, 177-252, 353-430. In view of the presence of these features in early Chinese Taoism, we do not feel that it is necessary to seek the origin of Tantric elements in the practices of the Chinese secret societies as Lévi has suggested (*Le Népal*, p. 347).

³⁶ See P. C. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tauras*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 48-49.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-55.

³⁸ The diagrams in the dwellings are referred to in note 24 above. The mandalas on the temple ceilings are found in the Lama Buddhist temples of Northwestern Yunnan which are built in an archaic Chinese style. Wén-fēng Sū, near the town of Likiang, has a typical example.

³⁹ For an extreme viewpoint about China's dependence on Indian sources of Buddhism, written with a total disregard of historic facts, see Bhattacharya, *Nispannayogavāli*, pp. 12-14. (The author mistakes a Manchu Emperor of China and his Tibetan Buddhism for a Chinese Emperor and Chinese Buddhism, drawing some amusingly far-fetched conclusions thereby.) For an extreme Chinese attitude toward the same issue, see Dr. Hu Shih's article, "The Indianization of China," in *Independence, Convergence and Borrowing*, a Harvard Tercentenary publication, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 219-247. In the latter case the author deplores the baleful influence of Indian Buddhism and its attendant philosophy and cultural traits on China, ignoring the fact that some of the very elements he deplores were apparently indigenous features of the early Tanism and were presumably assimilated into Buddhism after the religion came to China. These are just two more examples of the obvious fact that ardent nationalism has an unfortunate effect on scholarship.

⁴⁰ *Le Népal*, p. 347.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

THE TREASURE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF SANTO DOMINGO

By ERWIN WALTER PALM

I

THE Cathedral of the ancient town of Santo Domingo (today Ciudad Trujillo) on the island of Hispaniola, the See of the Primate of America, has preserved a treasure which, although not a sample of the first decades of Spanish rule and vice-regal wealth, still contains some pieces of silverwork which compare well even with the richer display of Mexican and Peruvian churches. Sacked in 1586 by Sir Francis Drake, who looted the unhappy town for thirty days and burned a good many of its churches, convents and houses, it was deprived of most of the products of its industry. The Cathedral itself escaped destruction only in so far as its bare walls were concerned. For the rest, almost anything of value was carried off or else profaned. From an interminable chorus of contemporary laments, and from the minute accuracy of interrogatories,¹ we learn how much has been lost.

Thus the island, the gold of which had already driven its aboriginal dwellers into misery and extermination (that very gold of which almost the first bars exported to Europe went to gild Pope Alexander Borgia's ceiling of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome), suffered again for its glittering fame, although the times of easy mining and of the happy findings of enormous nuggets had long passed, after the Indians had died out and the gold seekers had turned to the richer fields of the newly discovered mainland, and especially those of Peru. The town was materially stripped of the splendor of its early decades as a Spanish colony and bereaved of such works of art as either had been imported from the Metropolis or had been produced by the local goldsmiths.

As to the latter, besides the existence of a mint at Santo Domingo which had turned out coins since 1541² and which, after long deliberations followed the earlier establishments of *casas de fundición* at La Vega and La Buena Ventura,³ we are informed that there were goldsmiths present in the West Indies from the very outset of the colonial enterprise.⁴ So strongly did the goldsmith trade become rooted in the Antilles that Emperor Charles V, who in 1526 had tried in vain to reinforce the laws of the Catholic King and Queen⁵ strictly forbidding the settlement of goldsmiths in the newly won colonies



Fig. 1. Pax (end of 15th or early 16th century)



Fig. 2. Chalice (about 2nd decade of 16th century)



Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 2



Fig. 4. Reliquary Casket (1579)



Fig. 6. Detail of
Figure 4

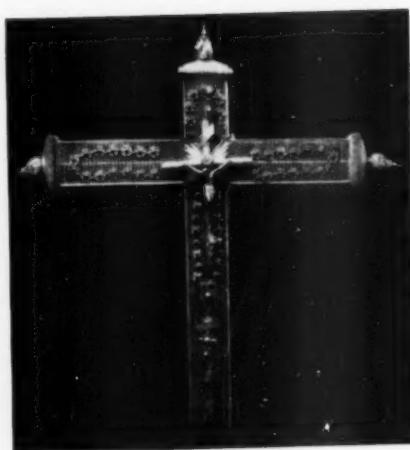


Fig. 5. 17th century pierced cover for remains
of cross planted by Christopher Columbus on
hill overlooking La Vega



Fig. 7. 18th century filigree cross,
probably from the Hermitage of
Indian reservation at Boyá

(evidently in order to secure the control of the local gold production and to safeguard the privileges of the Crown), had to give way only two years later: in 1528 he granted the future lawful exercise of the profession and sanctioned the existence of such establishments as had been opened hitherto in those territories, provided that everything related to melting and fusing was to be carried out under the supervision and on the premises of the royal *casa de fundición*, contraventions to be punished by the penalty of death.⁶

Unfortunately we lack information about the private losses caused by Drake's pillage which, at least to judge from the reports on the town's wealth during the first half of the century,⁷ must have been considerable, though one of Drake's captains states expressly that the table plate found was relatively little compared to the town's pomp in other respects, because the climate made people prefer glass and china to metal ware.⁸ Yet the fact that by the middle of the sixteenth century officers like the *oidor* Grageda (a judge of the Royal *Audiencia*) could afford silver better than anyone else, and that the actual treasure of the Cathedral includes some extremely elaborate civil jewelry of the same time,⁹ shows that unrecorded personal losses may have even been greater than those of the Church. The Church, having suffered at first from the parsimony of King Ferdinand¹⁰ and then from that of a vice-regal Court hampered by continuous intrigues in the Metropolis, was so poor in 1520 at the arrival of its first resident bishop, Alexander Geraldini, that the Prelate had to address himself to the Emperor in order to obtain shelter for himself and the Holy Sacrament.¹¹

The year of 1586 provides thus a *terminus post quem* for almost any church plate existing today in the treasure of the Cathedral. We learn explicitly from one of the many accounts of eyewitnesses that "when this witness asked some prebendaries of this said holy church whether there had been left any silver of the service of the Church, they told him that there had been left only the box in which the most Holy Sacrament was preserved and two or three chalices."¹² This statement holds good, unless any object in question could be proved either to have been in use up to the fateful event in the interior of the Island (unravaged by the freebooters of Drake), to have been imported later on, or to be one of the objects mentioned in the report quoted above.

II

This restriction of the general statement on losses can be adduced for a

Pax (21 x 10 cms.) of gilded silver (Fig. 1). Its crenallated canopy above the *pietà* as well as the arms (the cross in the center of the pedestal) of the famous Cardinal Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza,¹³ scion of one of Spain's most celebrated families of protectors of the Fine Arts and himself the patron of the Hospital of Santa Cruz at Toledo, date the piece with some certainty prior to the death of this dignitary of the Church (1493). The ugly ungilded Baroque columns as well as the whole mounting on silver of the three original pieces (*pietà*, canopy and pedestal) are not coeval. Yet we are informed about the presence of some Mendozas who, during the sixteenth century, belonged to the aristocracy of the town.¹⁴ All inventories being lost, it is difficult to state the exact provenance of such small and relatively unimportant pieces.

Another of the pieces spared in 1586 is the fine plateresque *Chalice*¹⁵ of the second decade of the sixteenth century (Fig. 2). The transition from the late medieval type to Renaissance forms has determined the curious linear projections of would-be niches, distributed asymmetrically on the foot, their upper parts formed by the characteristic shells. The niches are framed by baluster colonnettes, and alter in width according to the Gothic outline of the foot which in turn is marked by Isabellinian pearls. Meanwhile the scenes represented on the foot: Elias and the Angel (Fig. 3); St. Elizabeth; a galloping knight in full armor; King David leaning on his harp; Abraham serving the three Angels; and a high priest of the Old Testament; bear witness to the dying tradition of the fifteenth century. The stem, decorated by a familiar two-tiered temple structure of twice six niches sheltering the apostles, shows a generic Italian influence. The chalice proper, with its decoration of flower baskets and angel heads, seems to be a later addition.

A *Reliquary Casket*, dated by inscription 1579, belongs equally to the period before the sacking by Drake (Fig. 4). We read: "This box was given by Doña Joana de Mesa, wife of Juan de Berio, anno 1579";¹⁶ and on the top of the lid of the casket: "sister of Pero Lopez de Mesa who is assistant at Seville."¹⁷ The donor being well known in the local history of Santo Domingo during the second half of the sixteenth century as an influential and rather picturesque lady of typically colonial temper,¹⁸ one wonders whether the somewhat baffling reference to her brother¹⁹ was meant to stress her own lineage rather than that of her less prominent husband.²⁰ Or are we to understand the mention of the "assistant at Seville"²¹ as a hint of the latter's share in the purchase of the box?

The discrepancy between the date of 1579 and the style of the representations, which reflects rather the art of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, seems to exclude Seville as the possible place of manufacture and to point to a colonial origin. If it was really produced by a local artisan, this would testify to a very high standard of goldsmith art in the capital of the Antilles.

Certain stylistic details of the *niello* imitations, such as the horse-shoe arches and the purely ornamental drawing of the pillars with their braiding (reminiscent of Italian late quattrocento ornamentation); their anticlassical capitals, the linear treatment of even those very elements destined to indicate the perspective of the arches, the strapwork design of the lock, all seem to reflect the decorative experience of an artist brought up in a half-Moorish tradition. Though mudéjarisms are to be reckoned with in the colonies as well as in the Metropolis—as a matter of fact the architecture of Santo Domingo itself shows some (though feeble) mudéjar influence²²—the combination of these details with the characteristic flat (*carpanel*) arch of Isabellian architecture would indicate the artist might have come from a center like Seville thirty or forty years before the casket was produced overseas in an old-fashioned style.

The use of naturalistic elements such as the picturesque meadow at the feet of the apostles, or the careful acanthus capitals of the corner pilasters of the box, indicate the same general position of a minor Spanish artist struggling to absorb the vocabulary of Renaissance language.

It is significant how the habit of antitectonical thinking of the goldsmith has seized even those details he took over from the contemporary fashion of classicistic expressions. Entablature and foot of the very same corner pilaster are playfully transformed into acanthus leaves, and the knob of the bud to be expected at the root of any classic palmette, for line's sake (and out of a quaint *horror vacui*) becomes a strangely interwoven pattern, contradicting the ornamental sense of the irradiating hemicycle of leaves (Fig. 6).

While the apostle figures themselves do not provide any additional evidence to aid in defining the artist, the figures of the top of the lid, a resurrected Christ between two adoring angels, show a rather provincial character: the plumpish forms and naïve faces of the angels are barely spiritualized by the wind-blown mannerism of their drapery.

Was the reliquary casket, then, made at Santo Domingo or in Spain? No definite answer can be expected to come from the analysis of style alone as long as we do not know any other silverware produced at Hispaniola at that time. About a generation before our box was made, local wood carving (the only

other handicraft comparable, lacking as we do examples of early metal work) produced the skillful throne of Bishop Fuenmayor, the fine Renaissance details of which show the high level of some local master.²³

Finally there are extant six poles of a baldachin (ms. 2.55) decorated with a Renaissance design of octagonal coffers filled with patens, pitchers, bread loaves and flowers which, due to the trifling metal value of the thin silver sheathes, may have escaped the sack. A set of six Renaissance candlesticks (36 cms. high) with triangular bases resting on dolphin heads may have been added as a bequest after 1586, as seems to be suggested by the plateresque escutcheons of the owners while the letters CATH (for Cathedral) seem to have been added later.

III

When in 1606 the bishopric of La Vega was dissolved and its remaining ecclesiastical dignitaries were absorbed by the archbishopric of Santo Domingo, some priest took with him the most revered relic of the diocese, a piece of the cross which Columbus himself had planted on the height of the Santo Cerro, a hill overlooking the enormous plain of La Vega Real, at the foot of which, later on, the town of La Vega was situated. The legend tells of several attempts of the Indians to destroy the cross by different means: by excavation; by pulling it down with ropes; by cutting or burning.²⁴ The cross withstood assault and the parts damaged grew miraculously anew. Even the Virgin is reported to have appeared in order to protect the cross against the flames.²⁵ The first chroniclers relate that its fame extended over the whole of the Indies and even to Spain.^{25a} Moreover, we learn from Alcocer's *Summary report on the present state of the Island of Hispaniola in the West Indies*, quoted above, that:

At first they [the pilgrims] cut [pieces] with great veneration and took along some priest to do it, and whatever they cut away grew again; but later on, when covetous of relics they went to the hill with hatchets, bushknives and knives, and everybody cut what he liked, the miracle began to fail and the cross began to diminish, so that from having been high, broad and thick today there has remained but a cross *three quarters of a yard high and half a yard across the arms and it may be something like four fingers broad*. When they saw that it diminished so much, they transferred it to the Cathedral of La Vega and guarded it with three keys, for there is a tradition in this country that the Island will last as long as this holy cross.²⁶

But this precaution and protection did not prevail against one of the prebendaries of that church named Canon Juan Dias de Peralta. This canon,

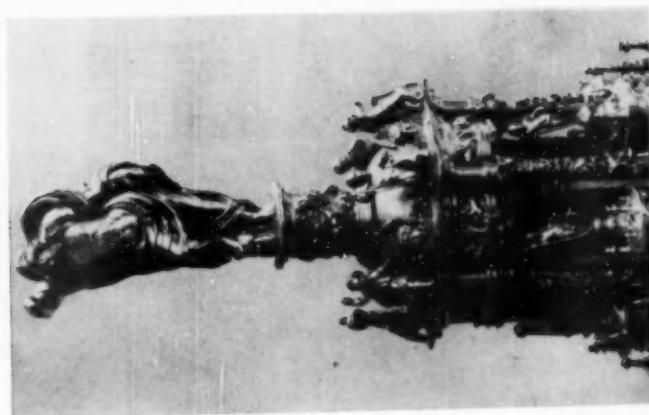


Fig. 10. Detail of Figure 9

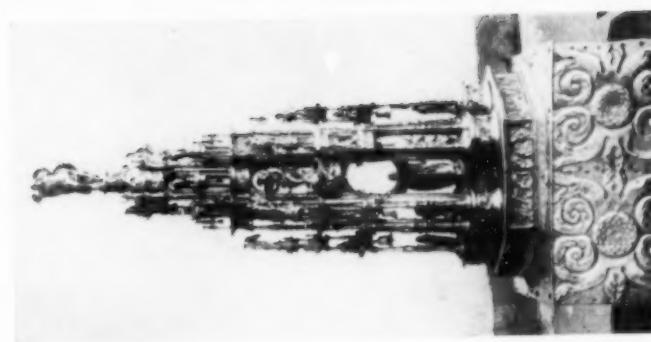


Fig. 9. MANUEL DE ARFE (attributed to). Tower Monstrance (probably early 17th century)

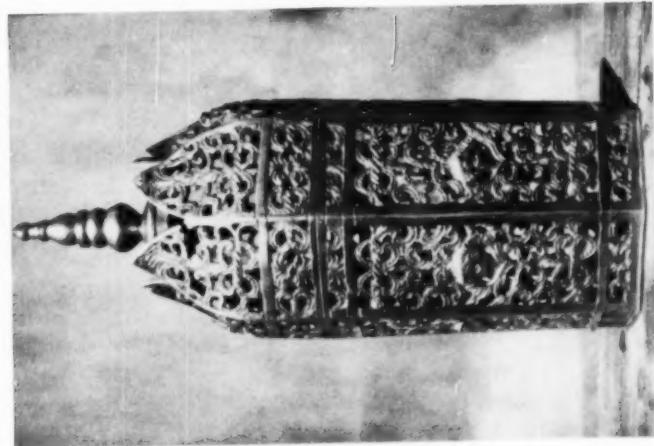


Fig. 8. 17th century. Sceptre (upper part)



Fig. 11. Chalice-Monstrance
(late 16th century)



Fig. 12. Detail of Figure 11



Fig. 13. Detail of Figure 11

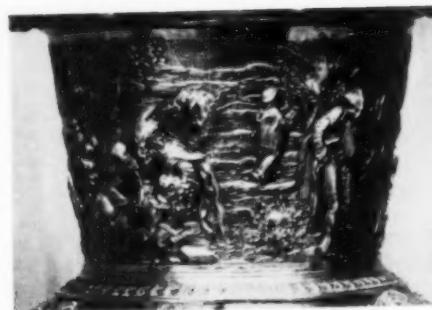


Fig. 14. Detail of Figure 11

after complete union of the Cathedral of La Vega with the metropolitan church of Santo Domingo, was one of those prebendaries who were transferred as prebendaries to this church. He conspired to bring secretly the holy cross of La Vega to this Town of Santo Domingo, in the year 1606. Here it was received with a great feast, and every year the Chapter of the Cathedral celebrates it anew at its own expenses, on the day of the Invention of the Cross, the 3rd of May.

This holy cross stands in the tabernacle with the most Holy Sacrament, on the high-altar of this metropolitan church, behind the monstrance, and is guarded with great care and veneration. In order that nobody should come and cut relics, *it was protected on all sides with silver so that it shows but very little of the wood. . . .²⁷* (italics mine)

Tradition and Alcocer's indication and measurements combine to indicate the *Piercer Cross* of 90 x 82 cms.²⁸ preserved in the treasure of the Cathedral (Fig. 5). As we learn from Alcocer's description that the pierced work was executed shortly after 1606 in the Town of Santo Domingo itself, we thus obtain the first sure date about the activity of local silversmiths at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

As a matter of fact the census of 1606, despite emigration, inflation, hurricanes, earthquakes, and last but not least the pillage of 1586, still showed a list of fourteen goldsmiths in a total population of only 620 families.²⁹ How much the town clung to this trade is made clear by the fact that the same index gives eighteen tailors, and that half a century later, in 1660-65, the town, despite the ruinous state of its buildings and the utter misery of its habitants, is still noted for being inhabited by "merchants and goldsmiths."³⁰

The still somewhat archaic character of the small-mashed pierced cross is overcome in the fine upper part of a sceptre (Fig. 8), providing a vigorous contrast to the elaborate laceries of Baroque filigree. To appreciate the difference it is sufficient to examine some filigree work of the same treasure, such as the small cross mounted on a modern foot 25 x 14 cms. (Fig. 7) believed to have come from the hermitage of Nuestra Señora de Aguas Santas at Boyá, the pathetic Indian reservation of the Island.³¹ The delicate work of the silver wires strung together in tender transparent spirals, its central *rose à jour*, place the piece clearly among the Hispanic filigrees of the eighteenth century met with throughout America.

IV

Undoubtedly the most important single piece of the treasure is the *Tower*

Monstrance attributed by the writer to the Sevillian Manuel de Arfe³² (Figs. 9 and 10). The monstrance, made at Seville³³ presumably after the sack of 1586 (when the earlier monstrance of the Cathedral was offered as ransom),³⁴ but almost half a century before the year of 1650 when Alcocer saw it in Santo Domingo and described it,³⁵ shows the typical disposition of the earlier Arfe school, though it is rather small (80 cms. without the later added cubic postament). The plateresque details and a composition evidently taking no notice of either Juan de Arfe Villaña's famous precepts of 1585³⁶ nor of his work that set a new style³⁷ have caused the piece to be dated in the middle of the sixteenth century, against documentary evidence.³⁸ Yet it should be remembered that under exceptional circumstances plateresque decoration is carried on, sometimes even in architecture, up to the first decades of the seventeenth century in Spain (Sant Esteban, at Salamanca),³⁹ as well as in the American provinces (Lake Patzcuaro churches in Mexico; Merced, Quito).⁴⁰ A minor master brought up in the older tradition might well be credited with having continued the old-fashioned tendencies of a famous atelier. Manuel de Arfe's stay at Hispaniola recorded in 1628 (though he may well have arrived twenty years earlier)⁴¹ would coincide thus with the last manifestations of plateresque style.

As to the alternative date of the middle of the sixteenth century, we would have to explain how a monstrance—after all a piece ordered by or for a definite patron—landed in a mysterious way in the Indies half a century after being made. Though in a generic way the composition of the Dominican piece reminds one of Antonio de Arfe's monstrance at Santiago de Compostela, the second rate sculpture, particularly the socle reliefs, does not seem like his work, especially as the silver mark A is not identical with that of Antonio de Arfe,⁴² of whom, besides, no stay is recorded in Seville.

The language of the whole piece is mannered, that of the end not only of an atelier but of a period. The statuary has many michelangelesque and Flemish motives. In the reliefs of the socle certain experiments with archaistic anti-perspectivisms, imitating Early Christian and Byzantine patterns, and trying evidently to assimilate them to the Spanish longing for immediacy, complete the aspect of this belated work of a glorious tradition.

V

The transition between Renaissance and Baroque is represented by a second

piece of very different, non-Spanish manufacture: a wonderful *Chalice* of gilded silver 35 cms. high (Fig. 11).⁴³ The clear conception of the whole as well as the careful decoration seem to point back to the last decades of the sixteenth century; and a *Monstrance* of 1580 from Toledo, in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London,⁴⁴ might well be compared for general likeness. The influence of secular models, notably of South German State goblets, is obvious and not infrequent in church plate. Like the London and other similar pieces, the vessel at Santo Domingo has to be taken for a chalice-monstrance, as indicated by the bells (probably added later), the mutilated knob of the lid and even the modern inscription *ofrecida* (the Spanish word for monstrance, *custodia*, being a feminine noun). Possibly the vessel was adapted locally for religious use, as seems suggested also by the gay pagan scenery of the fine *Covercle*⁴⁵ (Fig. 12), a battle of the tritons against a dolphin-headed sea-monster, most felicitously inspired by Roman sarcophagi, or more directly by Renaissance reproductions. There is, no doubt, a true Renaissance feeling of life in the triumphant harpooning, the call of the great battle horns, the splash of blood and water. The one still point: Galathea, surrounded by her floating garment (inspired by similar sarcophagi types of Nereids or some birth of Venus),⁴⁶ her hair dressed after the fashion of Giambologna's nymphs. Indeed, the whole proportions of the Sea-Goddess' body recall his creations. And true Renaissance style again is found in the elegantly balanced composition: the *caesura* between the monster's head and the reclined triton's weapons (shield and sword, somewhat grandiloquent) is filled by the marine still-life of the two swans and corresponds, on the opposite side, to the smoothly driving Galathea; and again the finely poised group of the two victors is contrasted with the two tritons on alert, between the first group the wreath of victory, just as between their opposites the peaceful pair of turtles. It is a pity that the actual craftsmanship is not entirely equal to the model.

Meanwhile the scenes of the good Samaritan (Figs. 13 and 14) speak a language which, though not totally different from that of the covercle, greatly surpasses in mannerism the elements of overdrawn weapons, horns, or fish-tails. The horse and its turbaned rider seem to be the work of a Flemish mannerist, a clear contemporary of the Cavalier d'Arpino. The scenery, its houses with steep gabled roofs and the Gothic church in the ghostly background, as well as the fantastic horseman, suggest Flemish origin.

All points of reference, form, ornament, and the comparison established with the later work of Giambologna or the Flemish-Italian mannerists, com-

bine to indicate the end of the sixteenth century, the chalice being either one of the articles destined to make up for the loss of the silverware through Drake or having passed to the Hispaniola shortly before the fateful event.

VI

Little silverware of any importance from the seventeenth century is extant in the treasure. To the end of the sixteenth century, or the first years of the following one, belongs an apple-shaped cup, $27 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ cms. and a repoussé and engraved silver *Incense Boat*, $24 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ cms., apparently produced locally, as suggested by the rather coarse drawing of an Indian head bursting into flowers (Fig. 15). A holy-water vessel with caryatides as supports of the handle seems also due to local artisanship of the same period.⁴⁷ Besides the pieces of pierced work quoted above and some jewelry, the rest is made up of a few current gilded silver chalices with enameled medallions or precious stones (the surface decoration typical for the period); some candlesticks;⁴⁸ two patens of Mexican manufacture;⁴⁹ another⁵⁰ incense boat decorated by engravings and some embossed work.⁵¹ One of the chalices—probably of Mexican manufacture—shows a foot decorated with asymmetrical elements (flowers and volutes) framing the figures of the evangelists, a late echo of the iconographical type introduced in Occidental painting by Carolingian and Ottonian book illustrations and not entirely unfamiliar to Baroque art as we may be reminded by an example like Rembrandt's *Evangelist* at Boston. The piece seems to belong to the eighteenth century.

Likewise the *Crescent of the Immaculata* (diameter 34 cms.) (Fig. 16), of the same epoch, points back to the Mesoamerican continent, though more probably to Central American Indian craftsmanship. The artisan has transformed the branches and leaves of his model into a kind of gesticulating tree projected at both sides of the river-like running tendril (a feature which is particularly visible to the left of the angel's head).⁵²

The altar-set of two lecterns ($39 \times 37\frac{1}{2}$ cms. each), inscribed with the opening sentences of St. John's gospel resp. with psalm twenty-five, and the decorative middle piece ($64 \times 50\frac{1}{2}$ cms.) bearing the legend *hoc est enim corpus meum . . .*, all three of embossed silver (Fig. 17), strikes a neatly Baroque note. Though the double-headed eagles, the arms of the House of Austria, seem to provide a secure *terminus ante quem* (1701), this is not a reliable means of dating, as, for example, we find the same motive on an altar of this very



Fig. 15. Incense Boat
(end of 16th or early
17th century)

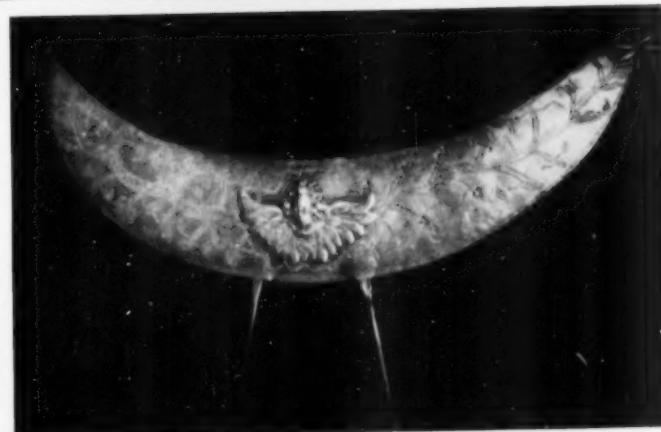


Fig. 16. Crescent of
the Immaculata, Cen-
tral American (18th
century)

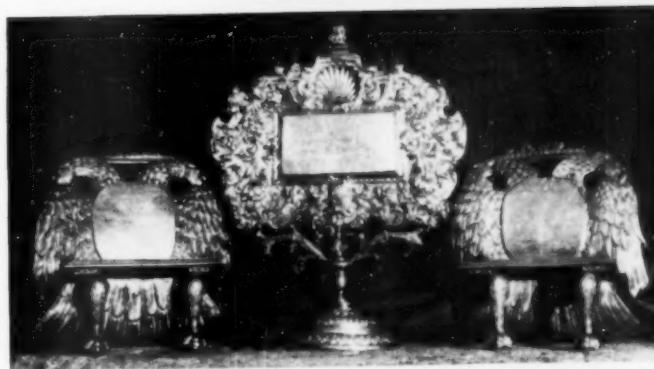


Fig. 17. Lecterns and
central piece of Altar
Set (18th century)

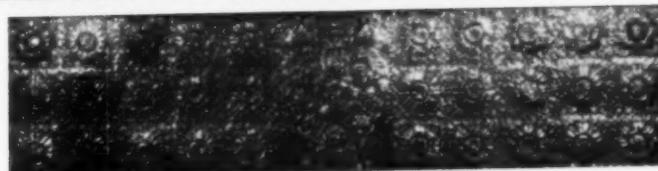


Fig. 18. Altar frontal, Chapel of the Sacrament of the Cathedral
of Santo Domingo (1729)



Fig. 19. Detail of Figure 20



←Fig. 20. Sun-shaped
Monstrance (2nd half
of 18th century)

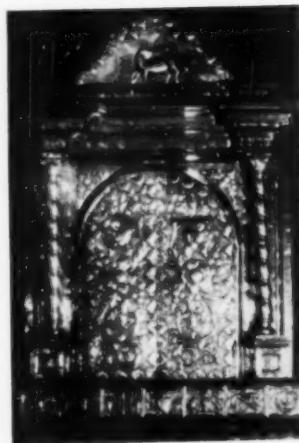


Fig. 21. Tabernacle,
Chapel of the Sacra-
ment in the Cathedral
of Santo Domingo
(2nd quarter of 18th
century) →

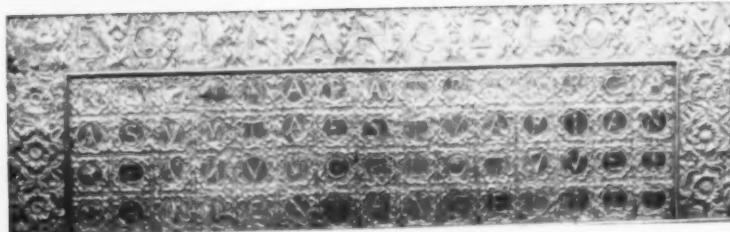


Fig. 22. Altar frontal, High Altar of the Church of
Regina Angelorum, Ciudad Trujillo

Cathedral dated by inscription 1729.⁵³ The work of the big middle leaf, a kind of vignette translated into silver, its coquettish shell, the pinnacles and the angel's head, look decidedly early dixhuitième. The set was imported from Mexico.⁵⁴ An Augustinian coat-of-arms seems to ascribe the set to the only Archbishop of that order present at Santo Domingo during the eighteenth century, Fray Ignacio de Padilla y Estrada, Guardiola y Niño (1750-53), who as a matter of fact came to his See from Mexico.⁵⁵

The treasure still holds a *manifestador* (ms. 1.20 x 0.88) which belongs to the same group of embossed Baroque silver work.

VII

Finally there remains to be discussed the frontal mentioned above, which covers the altar of the Chapel of the Sacrament. The *Frontal* (ms. 2.82 x 0.65), dated by inscription 1729 (Fig. 18),⁵⁶ happens to be similar to a piece in the Church of Regina Angelorum, the conclusion and consecration of which in 1722 provides the term of this second antependium (Fig. 22).⁵⁷ Unfortunately it cannot be decided on this evidence alone whether any of these pieces is due to local craftsmanship and whether the guild of goldsmiths, after the appalling conditions prevailing in Santo Domingo during the seventeenth century were overcome, continued to work during the eighteenth century. It may be worth while to mention that by the end of the century the French traveler Moreau de Saint-Méry⁵⁸ notes explicitly the rich silver of the churches of Santo Domingo.

However, local craftsmanship is responsible for the almost Peruvian effect of the high altar of La Merced (1734),⁵⁹ the wooden structure of which, evidently in substitution of carving, is partly covered by a picturesque strap-work of silver leaves.

To this period too belongs the fine silver *Tabernacle* (ms. 1 x 1) in the same Chapel of the Sacrament (Fig. 21), with its late Baroque, somewhat clumsy perspective rendering of the entablature, familiar in colonial architecture of this period both on the Island of Hispaniola⁶⁰ and in Cuba, where it occurs in the churrigeresque doorway of the Palace of Count Calvo de la Puerta (shortly after 1786) at Havana.⁶¹ The predella (ms. 1.06 x 0.14) showing the instruments of the Passion grouped round the center of the Sacred Heart, impressively material, gives a last lesson of Baroque sensibility beneath the nervously flame-shaped outline of the altar's top and the calm redemption promised by the Lamb.

A Rococo Monstrance (cms. 76; sun disk of the monstrance proper cms. 33) (Fig. 20) carries a curious and somewhat clumsy reproduction of Leonardo's *Last Supper* (Fig. 19), rather surprising at a moment when the work had not as yet gained the popularity bestowed upon it afresh by the nineteenth century.

* Photographs by Dr. Hilde Palm

¹ "Información sobre los daños y destrozos que hicieron los ingleses en la Iglesia Catedral y ciudad de Santo Domingo de la Isla Española," of March 18, 1586, publ. by Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Relaciones Históricas de Santo Domingo* (henceforth quoted as *Relaciones*), Ciudad Trujillo, 1945, II, 40 ff.

² Cf. Américo Lugo, "Historia Colonial de la Isla Española o de Santo Domingo 1537-1608," chap. X, n. 98, *Clio, Revista de la Academia Dominicana de la Historia*, VIII (1940), ns. 42, 43, p. 159. Fray Cipriano de Utrera, "Documentos para la Historia de la Moneda Provincial de la Isla Española," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* (henceforth quoted as *BDAGN*), Ciudad Trujillo, 1949, XII, n. 61, pp. 143 ff.

³ Cf. Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, bk. II, chap. LXII, who indicates the enormous quantities of gold melted, as well as the name of the smelter in charge; Petrus Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, Alcalá, 1516, decade III, bk. VIII, chap. 3. On the charge of smelter cf. *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar*, 2nd series (henceforth quoted as *CDIU*), publ. by the R. Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1885-1925, XIV, 9. Moreover, on the melting and coining of copper at Cotuy, cf. the "Relación de la Isla Española," presented by Echagüen in 1568, publ. in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos al descubrimiento de América* . . . (henceforth quoted as *CDIA*), 1st series, by Torres de Mendoza, Madrid, 1864-89, I, 9-35; repro. *Relaciones*, I, 129. On the mines cf. Lugo, "La Española en tiempos de Fuenmayor," *Clio*, VIII, 1940, no. 39, chap. XXVI. On the output cf. C. H. Haring, "American Gold and Silver Production in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIX (1915), 433 ff., and Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1934.

⁴ The list of the crew of Columbus' first voyage includes a Cristobal Caro, "platero y grumete," cf. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 1942, p. 197; at the occasion of the second voyage we learn about a Fermín Zedo, cf. Andrés Bernaldez, "Historia de los Reyes Católicos," *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, XXXIII, Madrid, 1878, chaps. 120, 122. About a whole group of goldsmiths arrived in 1493, cf. P. Ricardo Cappa, *Estudios críticos acerca de la dominación española en América*, Madrid, 1892, III, 3, p. 35, n. 1, quoted by José Torre Revello, *La orfebrería colonial en Hispanoamérica y particularmente en Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1945, p. 41, n. 18. A further list of goldsmiths, embarked for the Antilles during the first decade of the sixteenth century, in Torre Revello, *La orfebrería colonial*. *Rev. de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, IIIrd epoch, 1, no. 2, Oct.-Dec., 1943, p. 260. Besides we are informed by Las Casas, loc. cit. and Antonio de Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos Castellanos en las Islas y Tierras Férreas del Mar Océano*, decade I, bk. IV, chaps. 12 and 18, about the smelter and goldsmith who accompanied Governor Nicolás de Ovando in 1502. Herrera, op. cit., dec. I, bk. VII, chap. 2, mentions also that "in order that the churches should be served better," three chalices of silver were sent to Santo Domingo in 1507. About a *Real Cédula* of 1512 granting that the *veedor de fundiciones* at Hispaniola, Cristobal de Tapia, should be allowed to manufacture "cadenas, manillas, rieles y otras cosillas destinadas a mujeres," cf. Torre Revello, *La Orfebrería Colonial en Hispanoamérica* . . . , p. 44, n. 23. A notice about the local manufacture of silverwork at Cotuy in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia Natural y General de las Indias*, bk. VI, chap. VIII, ed. R. Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1851, I, 191.

⁵ Cf. AGI, Indiferente, 139-17, of Oct. 26, 1526, publ. by Torre Revello, *El Gremio de Plateros en las Indias Occidentales*, Publ. del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Buenos Aires, 1932, LXI, Appendix, iv, ff.

⁶ Cf. CDIA, IX, 353 ff. of August 21, 1528, repro. in Torre Revello, loc. cit., p. VII.

⁷ Cf. Alexander Geraldinus, *Itinerarium ad Regiones sub Aequinoctiali Plaga constitutas*, Romae, apud Guilelmum Pacciotti, 1631, p. 200. About the import of gold and silverware, cf. the letter of the *oidores* addressed to the King, May 20, 1519, *CDIA*, I, 370.

⁸ B. Boazio, *A summary and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian voyage*, London, 1589.

⁹ Cf. the author's article on "Civil Jewelry in the Treasury of Santo Domingo Cathedral," *Burlington Magazine*. After this MS. had been concluded, Professor Diego Angulo Iñíguez published in his "El Gótico y el Renacimiento en las Antillas," *Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla*, XXXVI, Seville, 1947 (henceforth quoted as *El Gótico*), a short preliminary list of silver in the Antilles. References to civil jewelry, *ibid.*, pp. 54-55. From a document of the *AGI*, publ. by Utrera in Antonio Sanchez Valverde, *Ídea del Valor de la Isla Española*, Madrid, 1785, new ed., Ciudad Trujillo, 1947, n. 92, we learn that in 1561, during an assault of French pirates, a whole chest filled with gold and jewelry was lost; its owner has been identified as the discoverer of the silver mines of Jarabacana (situated in the mountains near La Vega). As late as in 1660, when the island had become one of the poorest Spanish possessions in America, the French sacking Santiago de los Caballeros (in the North of the island) could withdraw with a considerable loot of precious metalware, cf. Jean Baptiste Le Pets, *Histoire Civile, Morale et Naturelle de l'île de St. Domingue*, MS. of the 18th century, publ. Colección Lugo, *BDAGN*, 1949, XII, n. 62, p. 308.

¹⁸ Cf. Las Casas, *op. cit.*, bk. II, chap. 39; Fray Cipriano de Utrera, *Santo Domingo, Dilucidaciones Históricas*, Santo Domingo, 1929, II, 37 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. his dramatic letter, without date (probably about 1520), to the Emperor, *loc. cit.*, p. 267.

²⁰ " . . . y preguntando este testigo a beneficiados de la dicha santa yglesia si les avia quedado alguna plata del servicio de la yglesia, les dixeron que solo avia quedado la caja donde estaua el santissimo sacramento y dos o tres calices," *loc. cit.*, n. 1. However, the catalogue of this specific witness does not seem complete. The respective paragraph of the questionnaire lists several more pieces as having been left, namely chalices, patens, cruces; this inventory is confirmed explicitly by three of the witnesses.

²¹ I am indebted to the Marqués de Lozoya for this valuable indication.

²² Cf. Juan de Castellanos, *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias*, Bib. Aut. Esp., IV, Madrid, 1850, elegy IV, canto 1:

" . . . hay . . . blasones
de Mendozas, Manríques y Guzmanes."

²³ 27 cms. high; foot diameter 16½ cms. The piece has suffered from recent gilding.

²⁴ ESTA CAJA DIO DON | A IONA DE ME | SA MUGER D IUAN DE BERIO A 1579.

²⁵ ERMANA DE PERO LO | PES DE | MESA ASISTENTE QUE ES | DE SEVILLA.

²⁶ The documents are full of amusing little details illustrating her "strong character." So she does not hesitate in her self-righteousness to lock the oxen of her sugarmill in the premises of the university, in order to secure them a good shelter for the night, etc. (Docs. publ. in Utrera, *Universidades de Santiago de la Paz y de Santo Tomás de Aquino y Seminario Conciliar de la Ciudad de Santo Domingo de la Isla Española*, Santo Domingo, 1932, pp. 54 and 132).

²⁷ He is not identical with a homonymous nobleman established at La Vega in 1514, who in 1525 represented that town as its attorney before the Emperor. Cf. *CDIA*, I, 456. (Demorizi, *loc. cit.*, p. 236, n. 28, erroneously identifies him as his son, while Angulo, *El Gótico*, p. 53, confuses him with the older one, as he reads the inscription of the casket as 1519 instead of 1579).

²⁸ This latter, who as an attorney of the town of Santo Domingo had married Doña Juana in Seville (information provided by Utrera), is mentioned by the middle of the century as a cavalry ensign serving against the French corsairs (cf. Alonso de Zorita, *Historia de la Nueva España*, Madrid, 1909, I, distinguished service role of Zorita, 1567, p. 473) and held the office of *alguacil mayor* of Santo Domingo.

²⁹ In this indeed very important administrative charge he is mentioned again (wrongly) under the heading "famous men of the island of Hispaniola" in the *Relación Sumaria del estado presente de la isla Española*, written in 1650 by the Canon Luis Geronimo Alcocer (*Relaciones*, I, 236). Alcocer, who indicates La Vega as his birthplace, had probably copied the inscription of the reliquary casket.

³⁰ Limited to a few sporadic decorative elements such as *almenas*, some *arco mixtilíneo*, a single horse-shoe arched window, some *madiejar* brick work or decoration (*sardinel*) and so on; much feebler reminiscences than, for example, in the neighboring island of Cuba, where a strong *madiejar* tradition prevailed up to the eighteenth century; cf. Francisco Prat Puig, *El Poco Barroco en Cuba. Una escuela Criolla de Arquitectura Morisca*, La Habana, 1947; Manuel Toussaint, *Arte Mudéjar en América*, Mexico, 1946.

³¹ Cf. Palm, "Renaissance and Plateresque Monuments at the Island of Hispaniola," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Urbana, 1946-47, V, figs. 15-18.

³² Cf. Oviedo, *op. cit.*, I, 69, bk. III, Chap. V.

³³ On the refutation of later traditions, cf. Apolinar Tejera, "Rectificaciones Históricas, La Cruz del Santo Cerro y la Batalla de la Vega Real," *Blanco y Negro*, Santo Domingo, Nov.-Dec., 1909, ns. 61-64, repro. *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, BDAGN, Ciudad Trujillo, 1945, VIII, ns. 40-41, pp. 101 ff.

³⁴ Between 1521 and 1525 Charles V donated 8000 maravedis for this relic, *CDIU*, XIV, 27.

³⁵ This belief, a late parallel to the famous *quandiu stabit Colysaeus stabit et Roma*, shows the preservation of an essentially medieval form of thinking, so often felt as a powerful substratum in the artistic output of the Spanish possessions.

³⁶ "Al principio de cortauan con gran veneracion y lleuan algun sacerdote que lo hiciese y todo lo que cortauan baulia a crecer, mas despues que con cudicia de tener las reliquias subian al cerro y con achas, machetes cuchillos cortaua cada uno lo que queria faltó esto milagro y empego a desminuirse de manera que siendo tan alta, grande y gruesa no a quedado oy mas de una Cruz de tres quartas de largo y de media vara los braços y sera como de cuatro dedos de ancho, viendo que se iua desminuyendo tanto la trasladaron a la Yglecia cathedral de La Vega y guardauan con tres llaves porque es tradicion en esta tierra que tanto a de durar la ysla como durare esta sta. cruz: mas no los valio esta diligencia y guarda contra vno de los preuendarios de aquella yglecia que se llamaua el Canonigo Juan Dias de Peralta; este Canonigo despues que totalmente se vnu a la catedral de La Vega a la metropolitana desta Ciudad de Santo Domingo y los preuendarios de aquella Yglecia pasaron a serlo desta siendo vno de los que vinieron a ser preuendarios desta yglecia, tuuo traça como traer escondidam^{lo} la santa Cruz de la Vega a esta Ciudad de Santo Domingo el año de 1606 adonde la resiliuon con gran fiesta y cada año el Cabildo eclesiastico a su costa se la hace el dia de la invencion de la Cruz, a tres de mayo. Esta puesta esta Santa Cruz en el tabernaculo adonde esta el santissimo Sacram^{to} en el Altar mayor desta yglecia metropolitana detras de la custodia y se guarda con gran cuidado y veneracion y porque no lleguen a cortar reliquias la guardecieron por todas las esquinas de plata de suerte que no se descubre sino muy poco del madero . . .", *loc. cit.*, p. 212, on the local *Cofradía de la Vera Cruz*, founded 1607 in the Dominican convent; cf. Utrera, *Dilucidaciones*, I, 350 ff.

³⁷ The actual measurements, which include the apexes, naturally do not coincide with those of the wooden cross, given by Alcocer.

³⁸ Cf. *Relaciones*, II, 376 ff.

¹⁰ Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix, S. J., *Histoire de l'île Espagnole ou de S. Domingue*, Paris, 1730-33, II, 28.

¹¹ Cf. Palm, "Dos Santuarios Dominicanos," *BDAGN*, Ciudad Trujillo, 1944, VII, 314 ff.

¹² Cf. Palm, "A Descendant of the Arfe Family in America, Manuel de Arfe and the Monstrance of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, New York, VIIth series, XXX (August, 1946), 93 ff; and "Letter to the Editor," appeared belatedly, *ibid.*, April, 1948, p. 256.

¹³ According to its mark of provenance, cf. the letter quoted in note 32.

¹⁴ Cf. the document in note 1.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 321.

¹⁶ *De Varia Commensuracion para la Escultura y Arquitectura*, Seville, 1585-87, bk. IV, postulates a division of the total height of the monstrance into five equal parts, assigning 2/5 of the whole to the socle; 2/5 of the rest to the first tier; 2/5 of the remainder to the second tier, etc., until the fifth tier. The measurements of Manuel de Arfe's monstrance are: total height 80 cms.; socle 8 cms.; first tier 28 cms.; second and third tier each 14 cms.; top figure 16 cms., i.e., a fifth of the total height and twice the socle.

¹⁷ The description of his monstrance at Seville was published by Juan de Leon, Seville, 1587.

¹⁸ Angulo, *El Gótico*, pp. 49 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. José Camón Aznar, *La Arquitectura Plateresca*, Madrid, 1945, I, 240.

²⁰ Diego Angulo Igúzquez and Enrique Marco Dorta, *Historia del Arte Hispano Americano*, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, 1945, I, 361 ff, 611 ff. For an example in Santo Domingo, cf. Palm, review of Angulo's "El Gótico," *Art Bulletin*, forthcoming; Palm, "Estilo y Época en el Arte Colonial," *Boletín del Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad de Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires, 1949, 2, pp. 14 ff; numerous examples from the Andean highlands in "Estilo y Época en el Arte Colonial," II, forthcoming.

²¹ The *terminus post quem* being given by the census of 1606 (cf. note 29), in which Manuel de Arfe is not mentioned.

²² Mark Rosenber, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, Frankfurt, 1928, IV, 567-68, marks 9154 A and B.

²³ The inferior brim of the foot with the inscription "Ofrecida al Santísimo Sacramento" (offered to the most Holy Sacrament) is a modern addition. Besides, the foot itself, badly mounted at some later date, does not belong to the chalice but is the work of some Spanish goldsmith of the late sixteenth century. It is signed on the inside "D" GS", read (by Angulo, *El Gótico*, p. 53) as Diego Gonzalez. To the same hand seems to belong the knob signed on the inside by a *burilada*. Instead the mark of the original vessel is an encircled A beneath a crowned lion's head.

²⁴ A good reproduction in Ada Marshall Johnson, *Hispanic Silverwork*, New York, 1944, p. 86, fig. 64, where a similar piece at the parish church of San Salvador at Requena (Valencia) is quoted; cf. another at Arcos de la Frontera (Cádiz) in Enrique Romero de Torres, *Catálogo Monumental de España, Provincia de Cádiz*, fig. 292.

²⁵ Diameter 10 cms.

²⁶ Cf. the sarcophagus in Giovanni Giusti, *La Galleria Borghese*, Rome s.a., 29th ed., p. 19, no. LXXXI.

²⁷ Height 16 cms.; upper diameter 21 cms.

²⁸ Cms. 128, of triangular base, forming a set of 4 pieces, dated and inscribed: "el alferez Joseph de Pina me fecit año de mil 659," cf. Angulo, *El Gótico*, p. 54.

²⁹ 25 cms. diameter showing the Mexican mark; the second without mark, foot 11 cms., diameter 30 cms., wrongly quoted as dishes by Angulo, *loc. cit.*

³⁰ 15 cms. (with handle 17 cms.), height 6 cms. Belonging formerly to the church of San Lazaro as the inscription shows: "Señor San Lazaro 1672." The foot is decorated by a pearl ornament.

³¹ Some modest purchases are mentioned in 1679, cf. the letter of Archbishop Navarrete, publ. "Col. Lugo," *BDAGN*, 1945, p. 33.

³² The Treasure holds a similar piece (20 cms.) resting upon openwork volutes. Another bigger one (63 cms.) decorated by cherub heads, is of Mexican provenance and belongs to the late seventeenth century.

³³ The same curious survival could be stated by the writer in Cuba where, for instance, on the side doors of the former Governor's Palace at Havana, finished about 1792, there appears this same heraldic motive after nearly a century of Bourbon government (repro. in Joaquin Weiss y Sanchez, *Arquitectura Cubana Colonial*, Havana, 1936, pl. 146). Further cases could be observed in several eighteenth century palaces at Havana and in the interior of the island at Sancti Spiritus; or, on the mainland, e.g., at Antigua (Guatemala), where the emblem occurs on the rafters of the house of Don Francisco Chamorro (1762). For examples on Mexican pottery of the eighteenth century, cf., for instance, José Gabriel Navarro, "Aportación al Estudio de la Cultura Española de las Indias," *Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, Catálogo General*, Madrid, 1930, pl. XV; a South American example is provided by the eighteenth century window shutters of the Casa del Gran Poder at Sucre. It seems thus that this originally highly representative ornament has become a fixed part of the repertoire of colonial decorators.

³⁴ The silver marks read: DESBOY COTZ (twice) and GOZ LES, flanked by the M between the columns of Hercules underneath the crown, the mark of Mexico.

³⁵ Carlos Nouel, *Historia Eclesiástica de Santo Domingo*, Rome, 1913, p. 314; Utrera, *Don Juan de Padilla Guardiola y Guzman*, Santo Domingo, 1930, pp. 29 ff. Angulo, *El Gótico*, p. 54, has overlooked these coats-of-arms.

³⁶ ManDo Aser | estA OBrA AS | US exPenSAS el S' D' D. JOSePH | Rengifo Pimen | tel BiseDeAn | DeSA S^o ygleSi | A ProVisor i VICA | río g(eneral) De todo el | ArsoViSPADO CE | DE VACAnte | Año de 1729.

³⁷ Cf. Palm, *La Arquitectura del Siglo XVIII en Santo Domingo*, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Santo Domingo, Ciudad Trujillo, 1942, XXI, 9 and 14 ff.

⁵⁸ Méderic L. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *A Topographical and Political Description of the Spanish Part of Santo Domingo*, translated from the French by William Cobbolt, Phila., 1796.

⁵⁹ Utreña, *Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes*, Santo Domingo, 1932, p. 32.

⁶⁰ Cf. the entablature of a doorway, repro. in Palm, "Dos Motivos Postbarrocos en la Arquitectura Dominicana," *Revista Municipal*, Ciudad Trujillo, 1943, nos. 8-10, p. 57, fig. 1.

⁶¹ Repro. in Weiss y Sanchez, *loc. cit.*, pl. 88; for its date, cf. *ibid.*, p. 38, n. 2.

THE GHENT ALTARPIECE OF HUBERT AND JAN VAN EYCK, PART I

By LUDWIG BALDASS
Translated by Liselotte Moser

I. THE PROBLEM

We associate the name of Jan van Eyck with a culminating point in painting. His works are rightly judged to be the most significant and wonderful in Western culture of the fifteenth century. The humanist Bartholomaeus Facius calls Jan van Eyck *nostri saeculi pictorum princeps*; the "Couronne Marguerite" speaks of *le roy des peintres*. Nevertheless we have a document of primary importance, most probably written by the artist himself, or at any rate with his knowledge and consent, in which Jan is designated as merely second in art while his deceased brother, Hubert, is called the greatest painter of all times. On the Altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* at St. Bavo's in Ghent the inscription runs along the four lower frame margins of the outer paintings of the wings. It is thus situated in the same place as, among others, the inscription on Michael Pacher's Altarpiece at St. Wolfgang. Some of the letters have become illegible in the course of time.¹ In the main the writing can be well discerned and states unequivocably that *Hubertus e eyck* (or *I eyck*) began the work (*incepit*) being *maior quo nemo repertus* (the greatest who was ever found) and that *Jobannes arte secundus* (the second in art) finished it on request of Jodocus Vyd. The last line adds the date of completion, May 6 (or 16), 1432. A stylistic analysis confirms² the statement that two painters had a share in the extensive work.

A critical comparison of the style of the individual paintings of the Ghent retable appears to be the only means of ascertaining each brother's share in the work. This has been attempted repeatedly (I point above all to Max Dvořák's fundamental essay)³ despite the warnings of such connoisseurs as Ludwig Scheibler, Karl Voll and M. J. Friedländer, and, if we set aside those essays based on false premises, has produced excellent observations but no generally accepted theory.

The Van Eyckian technique makes possible several ways in which a painter might complete a painting or part of a retable begun by another. The artist who finished the work may scrupulously follow the design sketched on the grounded board; he may alter details to a greater or lesser degree which

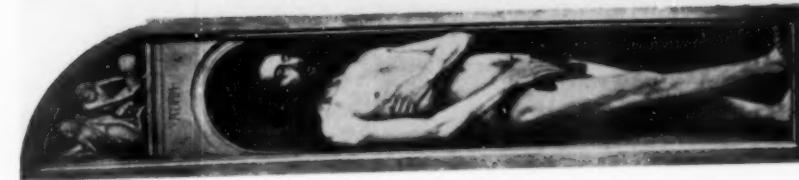


Fig. 2. GHENT ALTARPIECE. Playing Angels. Eve
Ghent, St. Bavo

Fig. 1. GHENT ALTARPIECE. Adam; Singing Angels
Ghent, St. Bavo



Fig. 3. GHENT ALTARPIECE, *The Virgin; St. John*
Ghent, St. Bavo



Fig. 4. GHENT ALTARPIECE, *The Adoration of the Lamb*
Ghent, St. Bavo

renders possible the tracing of two hands in the execution; or he may, while keeping the main lines of the original composition, redesign entire parts, thus making the final result appear to be indeed the work of one executing hand but the product of two distinct individualities.

Hubert van Eyck, who is mentioned for the first time in 1425, and this in Ghent, died in 1426 on the eighteenth of September. We do not know when he received the commission for the Ghent retable nor when he began work on it. Its completion by his brother Jan cannot in the main have taken place before 1430 or 1431.⁴ The possibility of a change of patron has been deduced from the several years which elapsed between the death of the first artist and the moment when the second undertook his work, and from the fact that in the inscription Jodocus Vyd is mentioned only in connection with the second artist.⁵ Therefore one has to reckon with the deviations from the original program.

To work out the supposed part each brother had in the Ghent Altarpiece two methods have to be employed simultaneously. First, a comparison of the style of each separate painting with the known paintings of Jan van Eyck, which, it is true, all date from the period immediately after the completion of the Ghent retable. Of Hubert no other work is known, not even traditionally. All attributions to him up to now are based upon comparison with those parts of the Ghent Altarpiece which the attributor deemed to be works of Hubert. To proceed to determine, from works attributed to Hubert, which parts of the Ghent Altarpiece were painted by him, must lead to false conclusions.⁶ The second method is the thorough and exhaustive inspection of the Ghent Altarpiece itself, the search for stylistic breaks which can be traced back to the introduction of a second artistic personality.

Let us first look upon the compositional grouping of the work. The paintings of the Ghent retable are disposed in rows, with the wings painted on both sides, a form which is found to have been used before the brothers Van Eyck.⁷ The arrangement of the several paintings of the open or closed view into two or three rows, as well as the different width of adjoining pictures, conforms to tradition. There is, however, one peculiarity of arrangement which singles out the Ghent Altarpiece: as far as I can see it is the only such altarpiece in which the paintings, placed one above the other in the different stories or rows, differ in width, and this considerably. I know of no other example in which the width of the pictures of the lower row does not correspond exactly to the width of those placed directly above. This divergence is found on the wings⁸ and there-

fore concerns both views of the retable. The four pictures of each wing differ not only in width but in height; the proportion of difference of the lower paintings and the upper ones being approximately 2-2 to 3-1. Thus when we look at the order of the whole retable we immediately notice a broken line cutting each wing vertically. The wider picture of the upper row is felt to weigh heavily upon the lower.⁹ If anything in the total arrangement of the retable indicates a change in the original plane, it is this singular discontinuity of the upper row (really the two upper rows, since the outside view contains three rows because of a horizontal subdivision of the upper paintings).

II. THE STYLISTIC BREAK IN THE UPPER ROW OF THE INSIDE VIEW

Since, according to the wording of the inscription, Hubert van Eyck began the work, we must now pose the question: To what extent do stylistic breaks between and on the individual paintings indicate that the younger brother altered the original conception or, insofar as it was not firmly established, supplemented it?¹⁰ We must stress here that all the paintings of the retable are preserved with their original edge. None can have been cut down.

Georges Hulin de Loo has set forth clearly¹¹ that the change in the size of the figures in the upper and the lower row cannot be construed as a break in style. He has pointed out, from a slightly later period, the Beaune retable with the *Last Judgment* by Rogier van der Weyden (one might also include Stephan Lochner's representation of the same theme) and Enguerrand Quarton's or Charenton's *Coronation of the Virgin* at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon as examples from the same cultural sphere: the medieval method of giving different dimensions to the heavenly and earthly figures. Moreover, we observe that Charenton, in the last mentioned painting of 1453, gave a lesser stature to the assisting angels than to the divine persons and to the Holy Virgin, while leaving them considerably larger than the human beings below. This same thing can be found on the inner side of the Ghent Altarpiece, which is based on a homogeneous religious program. Moreover, Hulin, by observation of the upper row of pictures, arrived at a remarkable conclusion. He rightly inferred a stylistic break from the difference in the floor, which is viewed from above in the five central pictures and from below in the corner pictures of Adam and Eve (Figs. 1 and 2). He then pointed out that the floor of the five central pictures was represented according to the same principle but executed differently. It seemed unlikely to him that the same painter would have placed the divine persons on

a plain floor and the angels on a richly ornamented one. From this he concluded that in the two wings with angels Jan enriched the existing sketch by Hubert. Moreover, not only the tiles but the ornamentation of the furniture is in Jan's style, and probably the naturalistic sky is his also. The paintings with Adam and Eve naturally take into consideration the location of the two pictures in the altarpiece; Adam's and Eve's figures are larger than the angels, smaller than the central figures. They were conceived by Jan van Eyck.¹²

Hulin's conclusions are confirmed by a thorough style analysis of the clothed figures of the upper row. In all the acknowledged works of Jan the clothes of the figures are distinguished by a very sharp, precise arrangement of folds, rich in detail.¹³ In sharp contrast to Jan's complicated representation of clothes we have the simplicity of the Holy Virgin's dress, rendered almost without folds, and of St. John's hairy gown, as well as the folds of the cloaks falling in rounded lines (Fig. 3); and lastly, the uncomplicated massiveness in the treatment of the figures, including those of the organ-playing and the singing angels in the foreground. It may be said immediately that this, Hubert's, manner of rendering clothes has its parallels in the heavy, simple robes of the kneeling angels, prophets and apostles in the foreground and in the simple costumes of the holy confessors in the left middle-ground of the *Adoration of the Lamb*. Moreover, the somewhat sentimental expression of the Baptist next to God the Father is still connected with the art of the twenties.¹⁴ Let it be noted also how flatly this head is sketched, being modeled only by the detailed execution. This somewhat vague sentimentalism, completely foreign to the art of Jan, is observed in no other figure of the whole altarpiece except in the organ-playing angel and in the Holy Virgin of the *Adoration of the Lamb*.

After thus establishing that two minds conceived the seven paintings of the upper row, we must examine their execution. Most scholars (including Hulin) who attributed the original draft of the three central pictures to Hubert held the opinion, wrongly I believe, that he also painted them. The execution of the entire row in all its details belongs to Jan van Eyck, and this work ranks with the most brilliantly beautiful he ever did. Whatever detail we look at is identical with the painting style of Jan's authentic works: from the manner of painting the heads and hands to the realistic treatment of the clothes; the innumerable ornamental designs in the crown, the clasp of the cloak, the hems bordered with metal or the rendering of the open book. This identity can be explained only by the assumption that Jan took over the design and composition of the three central pictures which Hubert had probably underpainted,

adding, however, details of his own invention, such as the ornamentation of the crown and the sceptre. The hieratic effect of the three central figures springs from the theme. Jan, who did everything to produce a unified, total effect, then fitted the face of Adam to the facial type of God the Father, and the face of Eve to that of the Virgin; the more pronounced realism in the faces of the first human couple was necessitated by the subject.

The altered floor pattern in the angel pictures, stressed by Hulin, is symptomatic, for it shows us that once the artistic representation has been perfected, each new achievement is coupled with an attenuation of effectiveness. To be sure this attenuation can be felt only in the original, not in the photographs, because whilst the richly ornamented tiles of the angel pictures, with their cold blue designs, appear relatively insignificant as a whole, the effect of the simple tile floor of the three central paintings is surprisingly powerful and impressive through the alternation of brilliant wine-red and blackish-blue tiles with golden demarcation lines. Although Jan, in his later works, hardly ever tolerates empty, unadorned surfaces, it may be supposed that in the angel pictures his abandonment of the coloristic effect of this simply-drawn tile floor is not merely a result of his desire for ornamentation but a consciously pursued compositional intention: the eyes of the spectator were to be attracted above all towards the three central figures. Hubert had quite logically assigned a much larger piece of this floor to the painting with God the Father than to those with Mary and St. John. Moreover, the three central pictures are striking through their strong color, while the outermost ones with Adam and Eve lack color almost completely and derive their effect merely from the luminosity of the light bodies in the black niches. The two angel pictures now have to mediate between these two extremes of effect. The light-colored floor and the natural pale-blue sky remove them from the composition of the central pictures and thus contribute to this mediation.

III. THE STYLISTIC BREAK IN THE LOWER ROW OF THE INSIDE VIEW

If not only the under painting of the three upper sections but also the angel pictures were begun by Hubert, the alteration in the dimensions must have been undertaken in the lower row. Indeed there can be no doubt that a strong difference in style exists between the conception of the lower, center piece and that of its wing paintings, which, as M. Dvořák pointed out, can be explained only by the existence of two originators.

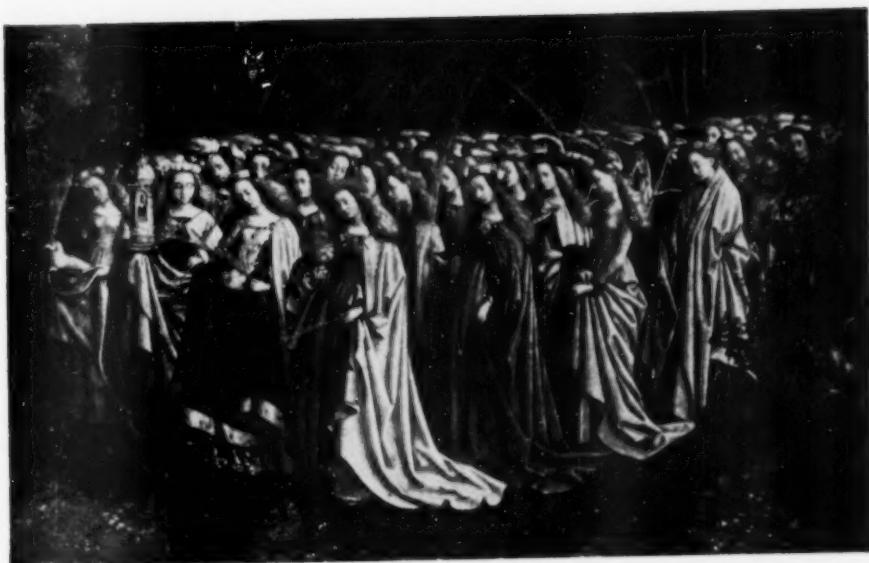


Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 4



Fig. 6. Detail of Figure 4



Fig. 7. Detail of Figure 4



Fig. 8. Detail of Figure 4

a. The Composition

The greatest difference between the central picture, which is preserved without any cuts whatsoever, and the wing paintings, consists in the rendering of space. The *Adoration of the Lamb* (Fig. 4) takes place in a landscape built up in the manner of the trecento.¹⁵ Several figures, especially the angels in the center, seem almost to slide off the steeply rising slope. The trees are only slightly higher than the human beings. Except for the last strip in the background, this landscape is articulated above all by the figures. It is a stage without any life of its own.

How different in the wings. At the extreme right a sudden lowering of the horizon makes it plain that the middlegrounds of the wings represent a hilly tract, beyond which we can see only the tops of the highest mountains. A further difference between the center piece and the wings consists in the clouds. In the lateral paintings where wider strips of sky permit them greater expansion they are formed more richly and atmospherically. They guide the eye from the depth to the foreground of the picture. Flocks of birds reinforce the spatiality of the sky by the direction of their flight. The spatial pictures of the center and of the wings, despite their similarity, differ so widely in their essence that they cannot have been conceived by the same artist within a relatively short space of time. Therefore Hubert prepared the spatial picture of the center piece, Jan that of the wings.

It is apparent that Jan, as far as he could, adapted his space conception to Hubert's. But he shows more sky, firstly by lowering the horizon and secondly by enlarging the painting surface. It suited him perfectly that Hubert, in his preparation of the angel pictures, had narrowed the frames, thus enlarging the surface. Jan's endeavor to produce the most unified and naturalistic space picture possible forced him to renounce the placing of figures in the middle-ground. Therefore, instead of the two-plane figure composition of the center piece, we have a single-plane on the wings. The groups of figures now occupy only the foreground.

That the conception of the wing pictures came from Jan is finally proved by a comparison with the landscapes of his other works: the section in the right wing of the small Dresden retable, and the view in the *Madonna of Chancellor Rollin*. But if the wing paintings were conceived by Jan, then he was also the originator of the altered division of the wings into two pictures of equal width. The reason for it becomes clear also: he could not develop the four groups as commissioned in two wide and two narrow paintings.

b. The Details

Already Max Dvořák was strongly of the opinion that in the center piece of the *Adoration of the Lamb* several parts were completed by Jan van Eyck. The several possibilities which exist here have been outlined at the beginning of this essay. Again we must seek to establish, in the conception as well as in the development of the details, what there is in the chief painting of the retable that belies the character of Jan's art as it is known to us from his other works. Components foreign to Jan's art, and therefore attributable to Hubert, apart from the spatial element, are, above all, the central group of the Lamb with the angels, the fountain seen from above, and the two kneeling groups of the apostles and prophets. The kneeling men at the right resemble each other so closely that, apart from St. John, who is characterized by his beardlessness, we cannot name any of the apostles. The profile heads of the kneeling prophets at the left, too, differ more in the cut of their beards and the variations of their headdresses than in individual traits. A real individualization of the different figures seems to have been attempted as little as a modulation of the rendering of folds. The lesser materiality of the clothes of the kneeling figures, the lesser freedom and individuality of their total formal and coloristic appearance, make it improbable that Jan contributed to these parts. Finally, I must assign to Hubert—herein contradicting Dvořák, with whom E. Panofsky agrees—two groups in the upper plane: the clerics (saints' confessors) and the virgins. It is a characteristic of these two closely-ranked groups that the faces differ very little. The clerics, and even more so the virgins (Fig. 5), are only variations of the same type.

It is more difficult to form an opinion regarding the final execution of these two groups of the second plane. The lesser tangibility of the clothing can offer no argument here, since the executing painter perhaps wished to stress the greater distance of these groups from the spectator by this means as well as by the selection of a cold blue for the clothes of the male group (a color which creates depth) and by pale tones for the virgins (usual elsewhere in middle-ground groups in Flemish paintings of the fifteenth century). But even if Jan does not seem here to have altered or more strongly accentuated any detail in Hubert's conception, as he did in the lower groups, it is quite possible that the execution, or at least the ultimate glaze, is from his hand.

The two outer groups of the foreground stand closely pressed like the bishops, the confessors and the virgin saints. Many heads in the group of martyrs at the right show a resemblance to those of the confessors. But evidently

Jan here painted the crosses, tiaras, croziers, coat buckles and reliquaries, and undertook at least a superficial alteration of some of the heads, for instance that of the pope seen frontally (Fig. 6). The group of the patriarchs on the left shows yet more individual faces and a more forceful and differentiated rendering of the folds in the garments of the foremost figures. Therefore we may conjecture that in these groups Jan kept the fundamental composition of Hubert's, namely the size and density of the groups, but rendered details not independently indicated in the draft. The work of Hubert seems to have been nearer to completion at the right than at the left. In the group of the patriarchs the individuality of the single figure is often as marked as on the lower wings.

From the figures let us proceed to the details of the landscape. A flowered lawn makes up the greatest part of the incline which is divided into two planes by the figural groups. At the right edge of the second plane we see large and well defined flowers, lilies, iris and peonies (Fig. 7), while at the left we have a rosebush, a grapevine and a fig tree. Bushes close off the scenery behind the groups of the second plane.

Now the question arises as to whether Jan, who worked on some of the figures of the *Adoration of the Lamb*, did not also have a hand in the rendering of the other details. Not from his hand—therefore from Hubert's—is primarily the fountain (*Fons aquae vitae*). One has only to compare the simple, almost rude, forms of the ornamentation (the crowning angel and the gargoyle) with the sceptre of God the Father (Figs. 9 and 10) or the metal clasps of the singing angels to become aware of how much more richly and subtly the younger brother represented plastic form, modeling each detail in light and shade. Hubert further created the whole relatively schematically rendered lawn strewn with regularly distributed plants (grasses and flowers). They are for the most part botanically recognizable but still lack sharp characterization. As in the period before the Van Eycks, they appear rather like testimonials of memory than like nature studies. The flowers are mostly white and blue. Red is absent. The strong accent of this color is reserved for the figures, for which the lawn is to furnish a unified foil.

This is changed only at the edges of the middleground—again we can adhere to Dvořák's opinion—where Jan introduces opulent red accents in the greenery above the heads of the patriarchs and the saint martyrs. Flowers and shrubs, first exactly studied in nature, then clearly drawn in each detail and modeled sharply in light and shade, give evidence of Jan's brush. The grove and the meadow above the orange tree on the right cannot be distinguished from the

neighboring parts of the right wing. Similarly we may compare the wooded part behind the confessors with that above the hermits. Another addition by Jan is the palm tree behind the saints, bishops and confessors. But the city views, especially those cut across by the waves of the terrain on the right half of the picture, are of Hubert's invention (Fig. 8). They rise abruptly and their towers are placed flatly side by side. How differently Jan links the castle with its surroundings in the picture with the Warriors of Christ. The view of the city at the left also strikes us by its piling up of subjects, an archaicism. But the manner of painting of the details of this town-view does not differ in essentials from that used for the castle of the adjoining left wing, so that we must recognize Jan's hand in its execution. Something similar is true of the distance views above the confessors, and in the badly preserved center. These are moreover treated somewhat more simply than the distances on the wing paintings with the knights of Christ and the holy pilgrims, probably because of the narrower space. Thus we do not owe the entire upper strip to Jan van Eyck as M. Dvořák assumed. The joining of a deep distance to the meadowy incline had already been planned by Hubert. It adheres to the line which the development from the second to the third decade had drawn in Flemish painting. Jan's share in the enrichment and enlivening of these parts consists in numerous details.

c. Résumé

Thus we recognize three stages of development in the *Adoration of the Lamb* and its wing pictures:

1. The typical formation of the kneeling figures, which corresponds to the stylistic level of the spatial picture rendered as an inclined plane, and to the still generalized representation of the lawn.
2. The individuality of single heads in the groups of the martyrs, and especially of the patriarchs, while the archaic closely-pressed grouping is retained, and, corresponding to this, the differentiation of the plants at the edges and the enrichment of the distance by details gleaned from nature, and
3. The more natural and looser ordering of the groups on the wings, joined to a new uniformly foreshortened spatial picture and to the highest fidelity to nature in the rendering of the landscape.

These three stages prove that Jan did not alter the original plan where it had been completed. Furthermore, it becomes clear that the composition of the central picture, including the singular closeness of the lower standing groups to the kneeling ones, the asymmetrical display of the two groups in the second plane and the rounding off of the landscape by means of buildings and moun-

tains indicated in the distance is due entirely to Hubert. He completed the painting of the upper and central figural groups, including the kneeling ones, and of the lawn. The parts painted by him have not yet attained the full glow of color and the eminent tangibility of those done by Jan. The reverent manner in which Jan adhered to Hubert's draft proves that the latter most probably was in many places only vaguely sketched instead of being drawn carefully with all the details, like the drafts of Jan.

One proof of Jan's reverence is the unified coloristic effect of the total composition, probably planned by Hubert—the distribution of color in the parts of the central picture painted by him indicate it—but completed by Jan. The dominating red in the cloak of God the Father is taken up in the center by the altar cloth and continues in strong, single accents which are distributed fairly symmetrically over the central picture and the wings. This strong red is partially paralleled by the complementary rich green of the landscape, which, however, on the wings no longer alone dominates the landscape but is there framed by brown in the foreground and blue in the distance.

The conclusion of this article will appear in the next issue of
THE ART QUARTERLY (Summer, 1950).

¹ An excellent classification of the several readings and reconstruction proposals can be found in P. Coremans and A. Janssens de Bisthoven, *Van Eyck, L'Adoration de l'Agneau Mystique*, Antwerp, 1948. This work contains large reproductions of all parts of the retable and a vast number of details.

² An attempt undertaken about fifteen years ago to cast doubt on the authenticity of the inscription by declaring it to be a falsification of the sixteenth century has been refuted most convincingly.

³ "Das Rätsel der Kunst der Brüder van Eyck," *Wiener Jahrbuch*, 1904; in book form, Munich, 1925.

⁴ Jan could not, as Karel van Mander assumed, have collaborated with his brother in the first stage of the work, to which Hubert's death put an end, for during the years in which the work was under way he was not in Ghent at all. In 1422-24 he was in The Hague for the Count of Holland; then from the nineteenth of May, 1425, he was in Bruges, Tourmai and Lille for the Duke of Burgundy, in whose service he also undertook distant secret journeys.

⁵ Compare Beenken, *Hubert van Eyck*, Munich, 1941. Had Jodocus Vyld been the first to commission the work, therefore the one who commissioned Hubert, the inscription probably would run: "Hubert van Eyck began the work on request of Jodocus Vyld and Jan completed it." There would not be a plausible reason why his name should be introduced only at the mention of the completion of the work.

⁶ We must stress that the founder and chief supporter of the hypothesis that the miniatures of the Turin prayer book represent early works by the brothers Van Eyck, G. Hulin de Loo, always kept clear of this fallacious conclusion. Nevertheless the rigid adherence to this never-substantiated conjecture by almost all scholars—Tolnay (*Le maître de Flémalle et les frères van Eyck*, Bruxelles, 1939) and Panofsky in his careful formulation (*Art Bulletin*, 1933) form commendable exceptions—has set scholarship back by a good thirty years. What the many champions of the opinion have overlooked is that it merely replaces a solvable problem by an insoluble one. All the new acquisitions of Van Eyckian art are already present in the miniatures. If they had really come into existence in the second decade, the new art would, so to speak, have fallen from heaven, since these miniatures contain nothing to relate them to the artistic production of the time around 1415. Nay, more than that, the stylistically oldest parts of the Ghent retable, as well as the early works of Jan such as the Berlin church *Madonna*, would then represent a backward movement. This hypothesis must also be blamed for the fact that Dvorák's incontestable derivation of the style of the Ghent retable bore no fruit, since there is no direct path from the Turin miniatures to the art of Broederlam, nor to that of the brothers of Limburg. Withal it can easily be shown that the miniatures can have originated only after the Ghent retable, for both their style and their iconography presuppose the existence of the *Adoration of the Lamb*, of its wing paintings, of the church *Madonna* and the *Madonna* of Chancellor Rollin.

⁷ In addition to retables of the fourteenth and fifteenth century schools of Cologne, Westphalia and the lower Rhine, I point out the retable of the Virgin Mary which came to the Louvre (no. 3157) from the Cardon collection, and the small altarpiece with the *Coronation of the Virgin*, formerly in the Norfolk collection (auctioned at Christie's, London, February 11, 1958) and now owned by Mr. Van Beuningen in Vierhouten.

⁸ On the other hand, the commission stipulated that the immovable center of the altarpiece contain three paintings in the upper row and a single one, three times as wide, in the lower.

⁹ Let no one object that there exists in old Flemish painting a form of retable construction where the ideal continuation of the exterior frame margin of the upper picture cuts into the lower picture surface. This is the case in those altarpieces which possess a central picture with a raised center, and it is then of no consequence whether the center be divided by vertical moldings as in Roger van der Weyden's altarpiece with the *Last Judgment* at Beaune, or be treated as a single picture, as in Barend van Orley's retable of the Virgin from 1520 in Brussels. In these retable forms the fact described here is a necessary consequence of the construction, which naturally obtains only in the inside views.

¹⁰ Cordial thanks are due to Messrs. P. Coremans and A. Janssens de Bixthoven, who enabled me to study the 260 X-ray films of the entire painting surface of the Ghent retable, which were made in the Archives centrales iconographiques d'Art National and are preserved in the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels. Naturally the X-ray films show changes in the application of paint but not the primary drawing on the chalk ground, which was covered over by the under painting.

¹¹ "Le Sujet du retable des frères van Eyck à Gand, la Glorification du Sauveur," *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1940-41. It must be objected to Hulin's, or to L. Aerts', interpretation of the central subject as Christ the King, that on an All Saints picture God the Father, as the first person of the Trinity (Christ being symbolized by the Lamb; the Holy Ghost by the Dove) cannot be omitted. Also that the inscriptions of the painting speak for this interpretation of the figure, and that the oldest mention of the retable in the Diaries of Münzer (1495) and Dürer (1521) name the figure of God the Father.

¹² Most scholars had assumed even earlier that Adam and Eve were due to Jan, since M. Dvorák's scholarship often assigned the three upper central pictures to Hubert. Heidrich attributed the conception of the angel painting to Hubert. E. Panofsky ("The Friedsam Annunciation and the problem of the Ghent-Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin*, XVII) reached the same conclusion by another path: "the three center figures almost entirely completed by Hubert though . . . touched up by Jan," and further that Hubert had merely begun the angel pictures and that Jan was solely responsible for the Adam and Eve.

¹³ "Aux brisures systématiquement rectilignes" says Hulin. These folds are clearly apparent in Jan's pictures except in the few spots where darkened paint or thick, yellowed varnish obscure the forms of the details.

¹⁴ Compare the art of the so-called *Malouel*, or *Bellechose* (Trinity with St. Denis, Louvre), of the brothers of Limburg, and of the young Master of Flémalle (*Entombment*, triptych at Graf Seirlem's, London).

¹⁵ We lack space here to follow up the art-historical derivation of the style elements of the Ghent retable in which, after Max Dvorák, especially Tolnay distinguished himself. I regret this the less as I shall be able to make up for the omission elsewhere.

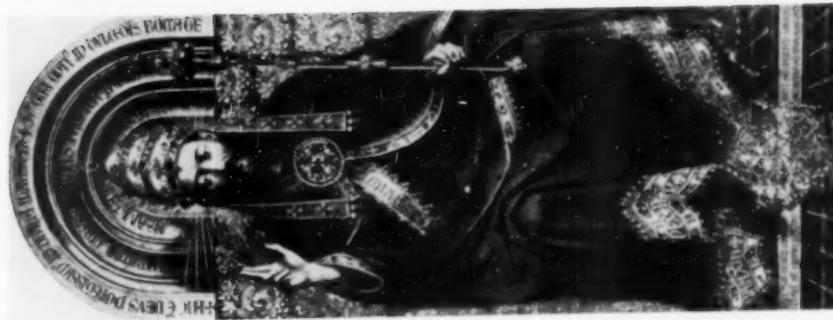


Fig. 10. GHENT ALTARPIECE,
God the Father
Ghent, St. Bavo



Fig. 9. Detail of Figure 4



Fig. 2. ALBRECHT DÜRER, *Rape of Europa and Other Studies*
Vienna, Albertina



Fig. 1. ALBRECHT DÜRER, *Drawing of a lion*
Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 3. ALBRECHT DÜRER, *Lion*
Hamburg, Kunsthalle

SHORTER NOTES:

AN UNNOTICED DÜRER DRAWING IN THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

By PAUL WESCHER

MOST of the additions by which Dürer's work was enriched in the past twenty to thirty years consisted of drawings, and the majority among them contributed particularly to our knowledge of the early development of this amazingly premature genius. Thus today we know more fully how Dürer expressed himself in his drawings in the early years in Nuremberg, then under Schongauer's influence, in Basle, in Nuremberg again and finally during his first trip to Italy. Especially through the drawings we learn how his views and interests changed in this time and how he grew mentally and artistically to the stature of a great innovator.

However, although a large number of drawings has been accumulated to give a precise idea of this development, step by step, Dürer was such an enigmatic artist that we are still faced with surprises. How many exciting new aspects of his art were brought to light with the discovery of the Lemberg-Lubomirsky drawings alone! The recent passing away of Daniel Burckhardt reminds us of another great discovery half a century ago, when Burckhardt first detected Dürer's traces in Basle and thus opened a whole new direction in later research.¹ It is not merely by accident, as students may easily believe, that all these discoveries were made. Only the continuous effort to gain a clear view of Dürer's whole artistic personality could lead to all these now accepted facts.

There are still many problems, and it is by creative imagination as much as by mere knowledge that they can be grasped. E. Panofsky's latest work on Dürer² provides many keys to the complexity of his thinking, to the many faceted conceptions in which his mind was attracted to both miracles and reality, and imbued in traditional beliefs and the keenest observation and perception of all the new phenomena of his time. His thoughts and impressions changed his forms more than did any other contemporary artist. Each new experience in the first ten years found its immediate condensation.

The drawing here reproduced (Fig. 1) belongs to the end of this experimental period, which was climaxed by the first voyage to Italy, that most

productive year in Venice from whence Dürer returned as the great master. It represents a resting lion looking with grim expression at the spectator, a characteristic of any lion seen in captivity. The drawing done on paper used in the fifteenth century was listed in the Detroit printroom as Lorenzo Costa, under whose name it had been acquired in 1934 as a gift from E. and A. Silberman in New York. Drawn entirely with the brush in brown India ink over faint outlines in pencil, the drawing has been damaged on the left side where the lion's mane has been rubbed off. Also the pupils of the eyes have been retouched in modern times by two ink spots, which give the over-exaggerated grimness of expression. The lion's mane is carried out with the typical calligraphic exactness that is almost like Dürer's signature, while the lower part of the body is only sketched and indicated in its essential structure and modeling.

There is a looseness and power of expression in this drawing which contrasts strangely with the imperfect appearance of the animal. It is quite obvious that at this time Dürer approached his subject without any great knowledge and had to find out for himself how a lion really looked. Fortunately we are in a position to base our attribution on convincing comparisons and we are also able to gain by this process an approximate date for the execution of the drawing.

The unusually oblong form of the head, with the pronounced human-like form of the nose, the shape of the eyes and the mouth, are very similar in another drawing: the lion heads on the same sheet with the *Rape of Europa* in Vienna (Fig. 2).³ These studies without any doubt date back to Dürer's stay in Venice between the fall of 1494 and the spring of 1495. Thausing⁴ and others believed that the lions were copied from the marbles at St. Mark, which indeed show a remarkable likeness. Yet from our drawing it becomes clear that Dürer actually drew this lion from life, as it is highly probable that in Venice—the town with the lion of St. Mark in its coat-of-arms—a lion actually was kept in captivity. F. Winkler and P. Grigaut independently drew my attention to the Italian engraving in Hind, vol. VII, pl. 885b,⁵ which may have been based on another lion drawing by Dürer. Winkler⁶ pointed out that Dürer used the lion heads in Vienna for the later drawing (W. 173, Dresden) and engraving (B. 79) of *Sol iustitia*. He also believes that our drawing was used in the apocalypse woodcut of the beast with two horns like a lamb (B. 74).

In 1494 Dürer had painted another lion in tempera on parchment, now in

the Kunsthalle at Hamburg (Fig. 3) (L. 62; W. 65). Winkler placed this miniature-like painting at the end of the Nuremberg period shortly before the trip to Italy. According to Pauli it reproduced the lion of St. Mark, and in the original representation from which Dürer copied, the lion was holding the scripture of St. Mark between his paws.⁷ However this may be, if we compare the lion in Detroit with that in Hamburg, we see both the difference and the similarity. The drawing in Hamburg gives more of the general, the imaginative aspect of the animal, especially in the head and the upper part of the body. Yet its position is quite unnatural, half lying, half standing. As far as anatomy, movement and character are concerned, the drawing in Detroit gives much more of the real nature of the animal, his grimness, his strength, his readiness to jump and attack—which was apparently Dürer's intention.

Dürer's early interests were directed towards the character and emotion of the individual, as we can observe in many instances. Sometimes this desire for dynamic expression comes near to caricature. Influenced by Leonardo, he made these physiognomic studies which over-emphasized the different parts of the human face in order to find the different characters and temperaments, as in the two drawings W. 656 and 657. His youthful portrait of Oswold Krell in Munich is a study in character, and it is not without reason that the coat-of-arms of this stern and obstinate looking young merchant shows and is carried by two wild men. Only in later years, when Dürer's ideals changed to classical harmony and the "right measure," did he give up to a degree this psychological approach.

The imaginary picture of animals was for centuries determined by the association with human characters and virtues, as described in the *Physiologus* and in the *Book of Virtues*. Already Aristotle had compared the variety of mankind with animals, the male to the lion, the female to the leopard, and so forth. Avicenna, in his *De Animalibus*, translated by Don Scutus, and Albertus Magnus, in his adaptation of this work, devoted a whole chapter to physiognomical remarks of the kind. This comparison between the human and animal face has always been suggested, even up to the present *White Collar Zoo*.

The *Physiologus* explained in a popular form the animals as Christian symbols, and the connection with the zodiacs brought in the astrological significance which again involved human temperaments. It took the artists quite a time to free themselves from these medieval ideas and to see the real nature of the animals. In Italy painters like Pisanello, Giovanni de Grassi and some Lombard artists succeeded astonishingly in such life studies; in the North,

Paul of Limburg, Jacques da Liwe and Jan van Eyck.⁸ In Germany the Master E. S. and the Master of the House Book attempted the same thing, but in this, as in so many other fields, it was Dürer who, in his marvelous water colors and pen drawings, finally solved the problem.⁹

Yet during his first stay in Venice Dürer was still under the spell of tradition. This at least is a plausible explanation of why he stressed in his drawing the human-like traits which had been attached to the lion's nature: his strength and bravery (*fortitudo*) and his wrath (*ira*). It also explains the discrepancy between the imagined and the observed character of this lion. If we ask for a further reason for this discrepancy, we find it in the double nature of Dürer himself, that of the craftsman and the artist. When he saw in Brussels, in 1520, the treasures which Pizarro had sent from Peru, he remarked in his diary: "I have seen the wonderful things which have been brought to the King from the golden country: a whole sun of gold, one 'Klafter' wide, as well as one moon of solid silver, two rooms filled with the rare armours and strange costumes. . . . In all my life I have never seen anything which gave me more joy. For I saw therein the amazing artistic things [*wunderlich kuenstlich Ding*] and was wondering about the subtle ingenuity of men in strange foreign countries."¹⁰

There we have the whole Dürer, the son of a goldsmith and medieval artisan and the intellectual artist, with his tremendous devotion to and admiration for perfection and his equally strong curiosity to explore the unknown fields and be inspired by the diversity and greatness of this world. In this, his feeling for nature and for the universe, he resembles only one other artist of his time; that is Leonardo.

⁸ D. Burckhardt, *Dürers Aufenthalt in Basle*, Munich, 1892.

⁹ Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1943.

¹⁰ Lipmann-Meder, *Dürers Handzeichnungen*, no. 456; F. Winkler, *Dürers Zeichnungen*, Berlin, 1936, vol. 1, no. 87; E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, no. 909, fig. 57.

⁸ E. Thausing, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*.

⁹ A. M. Hind, *The Italian Engravings*, London, 1910.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, I, 64.

¹¹ Cf. G. Pauli in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Würzburg*, 1921-22, p. 54; and Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹² Cf. his lion in the *St. Jerome* in Detroit, formerly ascribed to Petrus Christus. As the date of this picture (1442), written on the wall in an unusual manner, looks suspicious (even if old, it may be retouched), W. R. Valentiner has repeatedly expressed his conviction that this picture is identical with the *St. Jerome* by Jan van Eyck mentioned in the inventory of the Medici and later in the collection of Antonio Pasqualino in Venice (see *Catalogue of Paintings* of the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1944, no. 33).

¹³ See S. Killermann, *Dürers Pflanzen- und Tierzeichnungen in ihrer Bedeutung für die Naturgeschichte*, Strassburg, 1910.

¹⁴ J. Veth and S. Müller, *Dürers niederländische Reise*, Berlin, 1918, I, 58.

TWO PORTRAIT DRAWINGS BY THÉODORE CHASSÉRIAUX IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

By JOHN S. NEWBERRY, JR.

THEODORE CHASSÉRIAUX, born in 1819 on the island of San Domingo and later educated in Paris, was a gifted draughtsman from his earliest years, and at the age of twelve became one of Ingres' most promising pupils. Up to the moment of his untimely death at thirty-seven, he had produced an extensive number of paintings—mythological, historical, and religious—which reflect on the one hand the classical influence of Ingres and on the other the romantic tendencies of Delacroix. An exhibition of Chassériau's paintings and drawings held at the Musée de l'Orangerie in Paris as recently as seventeen years ago, of which half of the works included were lent by the artist's nephew, Baron A. Chassériau, constituted the first large retrospective showing ever devoted to his artistic achievements and was responsible, after years of comparative obscurity, for Chassériau's full-statured emergence into the limelight as one of the rarest and most individual talents in the development of nineteenth century French art. Closely resembling his master's style, Chassériau's output, like Ingres', comprises a long independent series of drawn and painted portraits, depicting many political and social, artistic and literary figures of his day. These portraits are distinguished alike for their invariably penetrating characterizations and often an appealing variety of nostalgic, searching realism, which the artist succeeded admirably in tempering by a leaven of classical repose and that indefatigable sensitivity so typical of French taste in the best traditions.

There exists in the permanent collection of the Brooklyn Museum a finely delineated portrait drawing of Monsieur Jules Monnerot (Fig. 1), dedicated to the sitter, signed by Chassériau, and dated 1852.¹ The writer has recently acquired for his private collection a slightly larger and unspairingly realistic drawing of Madame Jules Monnerot (Fig. 2), also dedicated to the sitter's husband, signed by the artist and dated thirteen years earlier in 1839.² The two drawings represent the father and mother of Mademoiselle Clémence Monnerot, later Comtesse de Gobineau, who was an intimate friend of Chassériau's two sisters, Adèle and Aline, and one of the artist's youthful loves. Aside from playing an important part in his life, it is interesting to note that

the daughter served Chassériau as model for innumerable studies which he later incorporated into his series of decorative paintings for the churches of Saint-Merry and Saint Philippe-du-Roule.

Taken as a whole, the force of Chassériau's portrait drawings, which embody continual proof of his disciplined training in the fundamental principles of sound draughtsmanship, is usually communicated by an emphasis on the delicate and detailed penciling of the salient features of the head. As in the case here of the portraits of M. and Mme. Monnerot, the heads are thrown into relief by a characteristically greater freedom in the treatment of the costumes and accessories and a generally more feathery touch than one finds in the drawings of Ingres, which are technically more remarkable for their precision and careful rendering of detail.

It is an unusual coincidence which brings together in one country two such associationally and aesthetically interesting drawings of related subjects, although in the strictest sense not actually a pair by virtue of the discrepancies in date and dimensions which separate them. It is hoped that one day a third drawing of a young girl, ordinarily accepted as representing Mademoiselle Clémence Monnerot,³ which remains in the collection of Madame Serpeille de Gobineau in Paris, may find its way to this country to complete Chassériau's trio of pencil studies of his friends of the Monnerot family, and with the eventual arrival of other examples of his noteworthy accomplishment will enlarge the scope of his appreciation in America where Chassériau's works are unfortunately still few and far-between.

¹ Pencil on white paper; H. 9½ inches by W. 7½ inches. Collection of the Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y. Accession no. 39.622. "Exposition Chassériau," Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1933, cat. no. 229. Formerly in the collection of Mme. Serpeille de Gobineau, Paris, and Jacques Seligmann & Co., N. Y.

² Pencil on white paper; H. 10½ inches by W. 8½ inches. Collection of John S. Newberry, Jr., Grosse Pointe Farms, Michigan. "Exposition Chassériau," Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1933, cat. no. 230; "Fifty Drawings from the Collection of John S. Newberry, Jr.," Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich., 1949, cat. no. 7, reproduced p. 14. "From David to Courbet," Detroit Institute of Arts, 1950, cat. no. 42, repro. Formerly in the collection of Mme. Serpeille de Gobineau, Paris, and Jacques Seligmann & Co., N. Y.

³ Pencil on white paper; H. 8½ inches by W. 4½ inches. Collection of Mme. Serpeille de Gobineau, Paris, France. "Exposition Chassériau," Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1933, cat. no. 231.



Fig. 2. THÉODORE CHASSÉRIAU, *Portrait of Mme. Juliet Monnerot*
Groote Pointe Farms, Mich., John S. Newberry, Jr. Collection



Fig. 1. THÉODORE CHASSÉRIAU, *Portrait of M. Juliet Monnerot*
Brooklyn Museum



RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN, CANADIAN AND
EUROPEAN COLLECTIONS



THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH, *Portrait of the Artist's Daughter Mary*
London, National Gallery

THREE GAINSBOROUGHS IN THE
NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

By Martin Davies

The National Gallery in London has recently acquired three pictures by Gainsborough which are of considerable interest. The first (inventory no. 5638) entered the Gallery under the bequest of Sir Otto Beit. It has recently been cleaned, and a rose on the breast which had been painted out has been revealed. Although clearly unfinished, the picture bears an inscription by the painter: *M: G: — T: G: fecit / 1777*. This suffices to show that it represents the painter's elder daughter Mary, who married J. C. Fischer in 1780 and died in 1826, aged 78; not (as has sometimes been claimed) her younger sister Margaret.

The provenance of the picture can be traced with probability as follows. Mary, the subject of the present portrait, survived her sister Margaret and bequeathed her property to her cousins, the children of Gainsborough's sister Susanna. One of these cousins married the Reverend W. Green and it is presumed that a group of three pictures, representing the artist's wife and his two daughters, fell to her share. Miss Letitia Green, a relative and perhaps a daughter of the Reverend W. Green, married Mr. Thorne; through her the three pictures entered the Thorne family and it was her son John Mills Thorne, who lent them to the British Institution, 1859 (Nos. 135, 139 and 173). Not long after John Mills Thorne gave the pictures back to the Green family. They belonged in 1876 to the Reverend William Green, a son of the before-mentioned Reverend W. Green and a grandson of Gainsborough's sister Susanna. They were sold soon after, and appeared in the John Heugh Sale, May 11, 1878 (lots 236, 237, 238). (Much help in tracing the provenance has been



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THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH, *Landscape with Gipsies*
London, National Gallery



THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH, *A Pomeranian Dog and a Puppy*
London, National Gallery

received from Miss Rosamund H. Green, the late Miss Annie C. Thorne and Major Frederick Gordon Thorne. Printed references of value for establishing the identity of the pictures are to be found in *The Athenaeum*, June 11, 1859, p. 785, and in *Notes and Queries*, February 19, 1876, p. 155. For Mary Fischer's bequests, see the Whitely MSS. in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.)

Two of the Heugh pictures are reproduced in the catalogue of the Sir Robert Loder Sale, May 29, 1908 (lots 527, 528), and do not concern us further here; the third seems to be identical with the picture now in the National Gallery. It is true that the evidence in favor of this identification does not amount to proof; but there does not seem to be much doubt about it. In the Heugh Sale of 1878, lot 237 is described as representing Gainsborough's unmarried daughter in a hat with feather. It was bought by Agnew, and seems to have been sold to John Corbett, who lent such a picture to Worcester in 1882 (No. 399) and to the Grosvenor Gallery in 1885 (No. 92). In the Corbett Sale, June 18, 1904 (lot 111), the sitter is described as "in dark dress and large hat," identity with the National Gallery picture is claimed by Mortimer Menpes and James Greig, *Gainsborough*, 1909, p. 173. In any event, the National Gallery picture must be identical with one lent to Whitechapel in 1906 by Alfred Beit, which would have passed in the same year by bequest to his brother, Sir Otto Beit. Since then it has been shown at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 and at the Gainsborough Exhibition at Ipswich in 1927.

The two other Gainsboroughs were bequeathed to the National Gallery by Mrs. Arthur James. These two pictures have also recently been cleaned.

The unfinished *Landscape with Gipsies* (inventory no. 5845) is the subject of the following story by Mr. Trimmer, as reported

by W. Thornbury, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner*, 1897, pp. 246 ff.

"Joshua Kirby, my father's grandfather, was one of [Gainsborough's] earliest friends. . . . Gainsborough was notoriously liberal in giving away his productions, and Kirby came in for the lion's share. . . . He also [Gainsborough] gave him . . . six or seven small landscapes in oil, among which was his original or first picture of the Gipsies. . . . There is a celebrated engraving, by Wood, of Gainsborough's Gipsies; the etching, which is by Gainsborough, I have. . . . [Gainsborough] had a commission from a gentleman near Ipswich to paint a group of gipsies. When about two-thirds of it were finished—for Gainsborough in his early works, owing to his great execution, finished as he went on—he came to see it, and was not pleased with it; he said he did not like it. Then," said Gainsborough, "you shall not have it," and, taking up his pen-knife, he drew it directly across it. In this state Joshua Kirby begged it; my father had it mended, and it was sold at his death. It was a terrific gash, and Gainsborough must have been in a flaming passion when he did it. After this he painted for the same person the picture from which the engraving is taken."

It is Gainsborough's first picture of Gipsies that is the one now in the National Gallery; the gash indeed, or rather the gashes, which have been restored so as not to be disturbing, are "terrific." John Joshua Kirby's grandson was the Reverend Henry Scott Trimmer, the father of the man who talked to Thornbury; and the picture appeared in the Trimmer Sale, March 17, 1860 (lot 35)—the marks of this sale are still on the back. Thereafter it passed (with several other Trimmer Gainsboroughs) to G. A. F. Cavendish Bentinck, who lent it to the Grosvenor Gallery in 1885. At or after his Sale in 1891, it was bought by his son-in-law, Arthur James.



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CHINESE, A.D. 523,
The Stele of the Departure
Toronto, Canada, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology

The other Gainsborough, *A Pomeranian Dog and a Puppy* (inventory no. 5844) is also interesting. There can be little or no doubt that these dogs belonged to Gainsborough's musical friend Karl Friedrich Abel; indeed, a dog, possibly identical with one of the dogs here, is shown in the full-length portrait of Abel which Gainsborough exhibited at the Academy in 1777. The present picture was apparently given by Gainsborough to Abel (cf. *The Morning Post*, August 6, 1814; W. T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough*, 1915, pp. 362/3). It appeared in Abel's Sale, December 13, 1787 (lot 44), "The Portrait of a favorite dog and puppy" (checked with the kind help of the Frick Library); later it belonged to another musician, John Crosdill, who lent it to the British Institution in 1814 (No. 58). (Entitled *Fox-dog*.) In an inventory of 1819, the pomeranian in the sketch for Gainsborough's *Perdita* in the British Royal Collection is called a fox dog.) Then comes a break in the provenance; the identity, nevertheless, seems to be not doubtful. In 1876 it belonged to the Reverend Ernest Thoys, in whose family it remained until 1910; it may indeed have been inherited from Crosdill, since another Thoys' Gainsborough (a landscape, now at Dublin) seems also to have been Crosdill's.

THE STELE OF THE DEPARTURE

By Helen E. Fernald

An outstanding early Chinese Buddhist Sculpture, inscribed and dated A.D. 523, has recently been acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in Toronto. Since it was first exhibited in Paris in 1937 at the Musée de l'Orangerie, this tall carved stone tablet, which we have dubbed *Stele of the Departure*, has been recognized as one of the most important known

Buddhist sculptures from the archaic period. It is over seven feet high, of fine gray sandstone, which has weathered a pale pink over the entire surface, and both faces and edges are covered with carvings in low relief.

At the top of the front face is the remarkable scene which gives the stele its name. It represents that great event in the life of the Buddha, when as a young prince Siddhartha he leaves the palace at night, with Buddhist angels holding up the hoofs of his horse so that no sound will waken the sleeping occupants. So far as now known, this is the only stele on which this scene is depicted, and although it does occur in one of the earliest cave temples at Yün-kang, it is not a common subject for sculpture. It is to be noted that the palace in this relief is purely Chinese and its various buildings, with the high compound wall and elaborate gateway, must be characteristic of the time at which this sculpture was made.

Lower down on the front of the stele is a large strong shrine with pillars and a heavy tiled roof in quite high relief. Inside, as it is in a niche, are a seated Buddha with an attendant Bodhisattva on each side. On the reverse face of the stele, in low relief at the top, is another Buddha niche, but this one is much defaced by the splitting off of several pieces of stone. The elaborate headdress of the Bodhisattvas here is the same as that on a small bronze figurine in the Freer Gallery, dated A.D. 519.

The lower part of the front of the stele and its edges, and all the rest of the reverse, are taken up with figures of donors in very low flat relief. There are fifty-seven, with their names. Two on the front and three on the back are shown, each in a little pavilion with a servant. The rest are in rows with columns of names, mostly of the Chang family. The dedicatory inscription, high up on the right edge, has lost that part of the stone which bore the characters for reign period and year, but the style

Fine
Old Masters



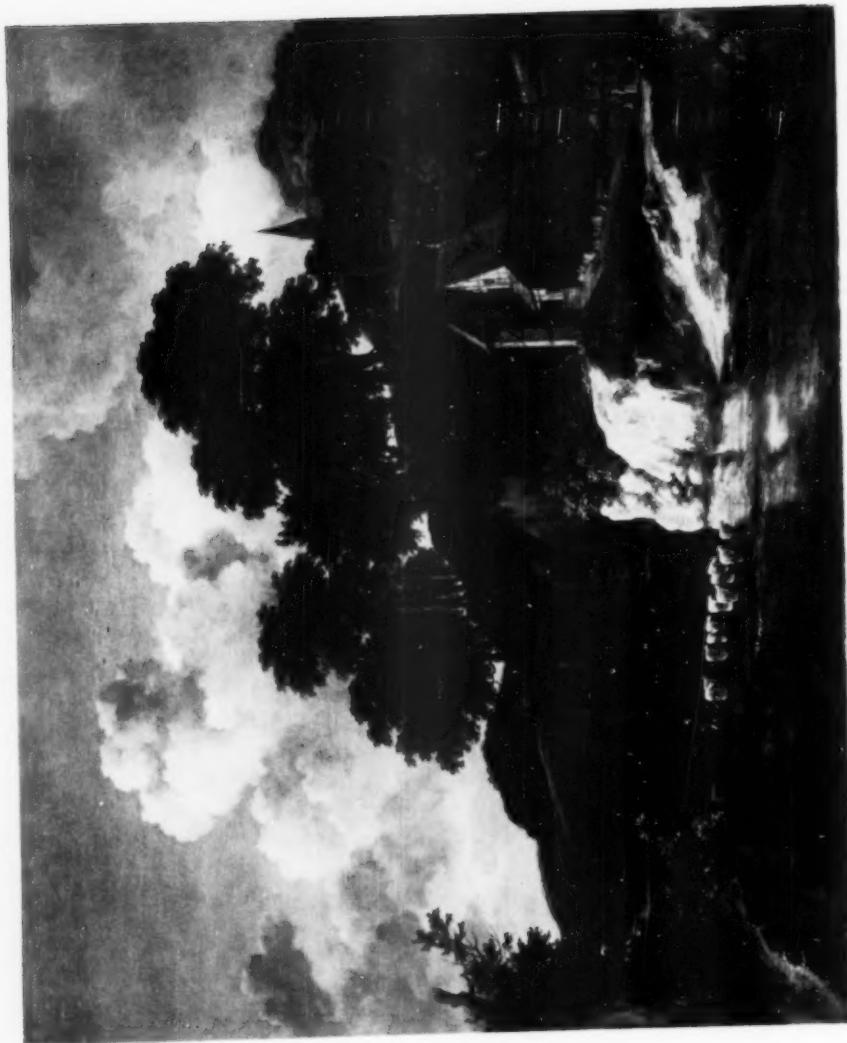
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JACOB VAN RUISDAEL, *Landscape with a Water Mill*
Detroit Institute of Arts

of the carving, and a reference to the "first day of the ninth month being a *cha-shen* day" points to the date as having been A.D. 523 in the North Wei Dynasty. Only one other tablet stele is known to predate this, that in the Baron Van der Heydt Collection which is of A.D. 520. The inscription here goes on to say that the "united citizens have made this carving for the benefit of the Emperor that he may live 10,000 years, and the 100 officials, that they may receive blessings, and then for the benefit of all people, especially citizens so and so [naming four], that they may simultaneously attain Buddhahood."

The Wei, a Tartar people who conquered North China in A.D. 386, were ardent Buddhists and the earliest Buddhist sculpture in China, aside from a few small bronze figurines, was that carved by order of their rulers in the cliffs at Yün-kang, a few miles from their capital at Ta Tung in North Shansi. About A.D. 460 a colossal Buddha more than thirty-two feet high was sculptured out of the face of the cliff and these dozens of caves were excavated, the walls inside covered with Buddhas in niches carved out of the living rock. No sculpture of the human form had been developed in China before this, so this art was born only of deep religious fervor and a few Indian Buddhist formulae brought from monasteries in Central Asia and modified to suit Chinese taste. At first all the stone sculptures were an actual part of the walls of the caves, only about A.D. 512 did the Chinese begin to make separate figures and carved tablets of this kind for wooden buildings and their courtyards.

The early creative period, which we call archaic, lasted from about A.D. 450 to 535, first at Yün-kang, than at Lung Men, and produced works of childlike but often superb design, simple, strong, direct and full of intense religious devotion, utterly lacking in self-consciousness. Such is this stele which is fully in the Yün-kang style, with its flat, frontal Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, their narrow faces and gentle archaic smiles, the heavy swinging drapery in parallel folds with decorative scalloped hem and the delightful naïveté of the design of the Departure scene. The pink sandstone points to the provenance as Shansi, if not to the actual region of Yün-kang.

The Museum thus adds to its collections not only a great work of art worthy to stand beside the finest examples of archaic Greek sculpture, but also a monument of unique and historic interest in that it is the only known stele of Yün-kang style and of Shansi stone, the only one showing a representation of the Scene of the Departure, and is next to being the earliest dated Buddhist sculpture of its kind.

"LANDSCAPE WITH A WATER MILL" BY JACOB VAN RUISDAEL

From an article by E. P. Richardson in the *Bulletin* (Vol. XXIX, No. 4, 1949-50) of The Detroit Institute of Arts

The *Landscape with a Water Mill* by Jacob van Ruisdael (1629-1682), which is the generous gift to our museum of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred J. Fisher, is a major work of the artist. It shows him as one of the great landscape painters of the Western world, working with the largeness of style and grandeur of feeling that distinguish him in his highest moments.

Ruisdael was a master of tone, an artist's means which painting has nearly abandoned since Impressionism. The effect of the Impressionists' work, seventy-five years ago, was to banish the tonal style (of which Corot was one of the last representatives) in favor of one based upon variety and intensity of hue, and in this they have been followed by most, although not all, subsequent painters. This canvas is a masterpiece of the older tonal style which is equalled in force, clarity and perfect preservation of every nuance of the color harmony by very few pictures in America.



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The picture belongs to Ruisdael's heroic phase. If a landscape of any period by Ruisdael hangs in a room with the work of other painters, his picture has a force that compels the eye and outweighs everything else on the wall. This force lies in part in a cool, dark, blue-green tone of peculiar depth and resonance which marks his palette. Very often, indeed usually, this massive dark has a tinge of melancholy, a pensive, brooding note that is the special poetry of Ruisdael. The tone of our picture is reflective, brooding, but heroic. It exhilarates one by its grandeur, its rich and intricate structure, its trumpet note of splendor.

This energetic, stirring quality comes partly from Ruisdael's drawing. His line is peculiarly nervous and dramatic. It gives grandeur to the rolling contours of the hills and expression to all things. The trees and clouds seem alive, moving in the wind. His use of light and dark has the same drama and animation. The cool, dark, blue-green of earth and trees is varied by contrasting notes of warm or rosy brown. The light which glows so triumphantly in the clouds seems to ripple and gleam in the half-lights which flash across the dark earth. Nothing is static. Everything moves and lives.

Ruisdael began to develop his heroic style, it is generally agreed, in the years 1650 to 1655, when he left the flat landscape of polder and dunes around his native Haarlem to explore the landscape of the Lower Rhine. There he found a countryside of rolling hills, great oak forests, half-timbered houses and deep, silent-flowing rivers, which furnished him with new themes of nature. At the same time he broke away from the early baroque landscape style developed in Haarlem by his uncle Salomon van Ruysdael and Jan van Goyen, a calm spacious style built upon the low horizons and wide distances of the Dutch landscape. The high baroque style developed in Italy by Poussin and Claude Lorrain had been brought back to Holland in the 1640's by Dutch painters who had been to Italy. Ruisdael launched himself into this more dramatic and architectonic style in the fifties with the landscapes of his wander-years.

But there is considerable disagreement in dating some of the greatest of his heroic landscapes. The moods of grandeur, drama and repose were interwoven in his art. He seems to have continued to paint simple scenes of the dune landscape even during his period of wandering (1650-55) and to have painted reveries upon the Rhine country after his return to Holland. The difficulty in dating these heroic landscapes in his work is illustrated by the fact that one of the most famous, *The Cemetery*, in our own collection, is placed by some students in his wander-years, about 1653-55, by others as late as 1678. Twenty-five years is a long time in the life of a painter. Ordinarily so much happens in his art that a student of his work has no difficulty in at least saying, this is an early work, that a late one, this belongs to his middle years.

It is interesting, therefore, that although the *Landscapes with a Water Mill* bears no date, it can be dated by internal evidence in the years 1661 or shortly after, when the artist was in his early thirties and at the height of his powers. He had moved from his native Haarlem to Amsterdam at about the age of twenty-five (about 1655). Amsterdam was a much bigger city and offered a greater opportunity. Within a year or two after his arrival he took as pupil the young Meindert Hobbema. The two young men painted together and sometimes the same theme appears in their pictures. In a signed and dated picture of 1661 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (2077), Ruisdael painted a *Water Mill in a Wooded Landscape*. The same mill was also painted by Hobbema and became one of the favorite themes of the younger landscapist. Hobbema used it at least seven times in various pictures of the years 1661 to 1663. This mill appears in almost exactly the same form in our picture and in Hobbema's *Water Mill with the Great Red Roof*, in the Art Institute of Chicago.

It seems therefore reasonable to believe that our picture was painted by Ruisdael within a few years after 1661.

If so, it emphasizes the importance of memory in Ruisdael's art. These high hills, so cool and inviting in the evening light, these airy groves hanging above the valley, these houses nestled in the folds of the hills, this poetry of evening coolness and the close of day, are a reverie upon his experiences of past years, distilled by time and affection into this powerful, eloquent and moving image. It is not the portrait of an actual scene but an assemblage of memories. Its mingled emotions of grandeur and peace, intimacy and heroic splendor are the moods of a dramatic poem upon nature's beauty. The structure of that poem is complex. It is built, in part, of three different paths which one can follow in imagination into the picture, lingering by the way to enjoy a variety of pleasures. One path leads along the riverbank at the left and bends quickly out of sight where a man carrying a sack plods around the curve. The second begins with the ford across which a shepherd drives his flock of sheep, leads up to the three figures standing by the houses at the right, then turns and follows the riverbank on the farther side, past the mill, through the dark woods beyond it, and leads eventually out onto the open hillside in the distance. The third path turns off from this by the group of three people, passes behind the houses into the wooded valley, climbs upward through the trees and comes out into the open in front of the houses and church clustered upon the height. The observer who, standing in front of this picture, follows those three paths in his imagination, will experience many phases and moods of nature.

The picture gives the impression of very precise detail. The feeling one receives of exact detail in the rambling old mill and the timbered houses; the sense of nature's profusion, of reeds and grasses, lichenized rocks, rutted earthy paths, flowering

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Flask and Glass by Juan Gris (1914)

shrubs, water, trees of all shapes and sizes, the varied outline of hills, birds flying overhead, is so convincing that one accepts it, feels it, believes it all there. Look once again. The details seem to be there because the artist makes you believe they are there. Actually he paints all this with a broad simple stroke of the brush which creates a shimmer of light and shadow, as an Impressionist picture is made of a shimmer of colors. Ruisdael is a master not only of fine expressive drawing and dramatic tone but of the power to create an utterly convincing imaginative world, nature transposed into art.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

ROTHA MARY CLAY, *Julius Caesar Ibbetson, 1759-1817*, London, Country Life, 1948. 154 pp., 3 colorpls., 125 black and white illus. £3-3-0.

This book, published in 1948, has not to our knowledge received notice in this country. The work of Ibbetson is rare in America but his pictures are occasionally found in private collections or on the art market. Called the English Rembrandt in his own day, he is an interesting and pleasing little master of the English native school of painters of landscape with figures, in somewhat the same vein as Letherbourg and Morland. This book reveals him also as a painter in water color, portraitist, etcher and writer on the technique of painting. He was never a member of the Royal Academy, perhaps because his life after 1798 was spent in Scotland or the North of England, perhaps because his art was too amiable and unpretentious. This review of his life and work is detailed, prolix, utterly without literary art. But for historians it is of interest since Ibbetson's life and art are significant for the local and intuitive character of that flowering of native English art; and for the museum curator it is helpful to have a well illustrated and detailed monograph upon a rare little master.

LUDWIG GOLDSCHIEDER, *Ghiberti*, London, Phaidon Press, 1949. 153 pp., 120 illus. 25 shillings.

Ghiberti was a very great artist whose greatness grows with each renewed experience of his work. One has reason to be grateful, therefore, for this volume of excellent illustrations of his sculpture, for the convenient reprinting of his autobiography and of Vasari's life of him, together with photographs (however inadequate) of his stained glass windows in the Duomo of Florence. This is all given the customary Phaidon beauty of letterpress and plates.

On the other hand, Mr. Goldscheider's text is a superficial and sentimental popularization, while the plates show the bronze doors *before* cleaning instead of in their present state. Mr. Goldscheider defends this by saying that the plates were mostly made by 1493, that the doors looked better in photographs when the patina and dirt filled the hollows, and that he liked them better before they were cleaned. Although the reliefs, especially those of the 'Gates of Paradise' have gained from the cleaning as regards clarity of details, at the same time they have lost their rich gradation of tones and no longer show the mellowing influence of time.... Ghiberti, it is safe to say, would prefer the doors as he made them.

HENRY TRUBNER, *The Art of Greater India*. The Los Angeles County Museum, February, 1950. 218 pp. text; 138 illus. Reviewed by James Marshall Plumer, University of Michigan.

The cultures of India and the Indies—it would be better perhaps to say the civilizations—have been brought dramatically close to us through an unprecedented exhibition, "The Art of Greater India," at the Los Angeles County Museum this spring. In bringing this great event about, the Museum has had the patronage of the Embassy of India, substantial assistance from Mrs. G. J. Watumull and the Watumull Foundation, the co-operation of some fifty institutions and private lenders, and the very able direction of the Museum's Oriental Curator, Dr. Henry Trubner.

Appropriate to the occasion, the Museum has published a catalogue of book proportions illustrating about two thirds of

the three hundred odd items exhibited. The original sources of these objects include India proper and a broad geographic belt that at one period or another came under India's spell. Afghanistan, Central Asia, Nepal to the west and north are thus represented; and to the east and south: Ceylon, Cambodia, Siam, Champa, and Java. No purely indigenous products of these other countries are represented, but only such as possess marked "Indian-ness." The only notable Indianized culture missing is that of Bali—possibly for the reason that few available Balinese art objects come within the dates set for the exhibit, i.e., 3000 B.C. to A.D. 1800. Despite the tremendous area covered in space and time, the wide variety of arts and crafts described in the catalogue actually presents an integrated whole.

A dancing bronze image of the youthful Krishna—one of India's best-beloved deities—is a fortunate choice for the cover. It is imbued with symbolism that we of the West will find familiar. Like Heracles, while still a child he overcame a serpent; like Eros he infatuated the maidens; like the Pied Piper he played irresistible music. On the esthetic level the superb abstraction of many dance movements, caught in this single medieval bronze image from the Nelson Gallery, serves as an excellent introduction for newcomers to India's sculpture.

It is from an Indian point of view that one can best approach the Gandharan sculpture—with its truly notable group of Hadda stuccos. The extraordinary plasticity of the modeling in these will then be seen to be no more Greek than the "archaic" character of the Fogg Museum's little clay horse from the Northwest Frontier datable about 2500 B.C.

America has never seen before under one roof such a group of early Mathura sculpture as that which the catalogue lists, even though no attempt has been made to include all examples. Indeed the overall coverage for Indian sculpture is astounding, including as it does further representative stone specimens from Sanchi, Amaravati, Sarnath, Nalanda (Bengal), South India, Rajputana and Bhuvaneshvara, and exceptionally fine groups of bronze and ivory. All this is expanded and supported by splendid examples of the overflowing of the Indian genius into Southeast Asia and Java. These images, under the stimulus of Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu faiths, took form in a wonderful variety of stones: limestone, bluish-gray schist, mottled red sandstone, greenish-gray marble, smooth black chlorite, cream sandstone, fine-grained dark gray sandstone, and coarse black volcanic rock. Their high quality may be indicated by mention of such masterpieces as the Seattle Art Museum's four-foot Mathura bracket with strongly carved fertility goddess on a dwarf; the powerful seven-inch Gupta ivory image of Hanuman the monkey-god, from the Heeramanek Galleries; the Cleveland Museum's superb three-foot pre-Khmer figure of Vishnu, so monumental in the photograph as to appear three times that height; or the exquisite 12th century Khmer green bronze winged Garuda, perfect in casting and colossally conceived though only ten inches high, from the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Paintings, drawings, manuscripts, rugs, textiles, jewelry, a few coins, a folding wooden shrine from Central Asia, and a few other groups fill out the splendid panorama. Again, arbitrary selection is necessary to hint at the grandeur of these categories. They include Detroit's huge Mughal carpet fragment from the reign of Akbar, measuring some 45 square feet of vigorous animal patterns; the University of Michigan's extraordinarily delicate Rajput (Pahari) miniature of Siva and Parvati in an idyllic Arcadian scene; and an unusually large Mughal-Rajput painting over 30 inches high, from the Cran-

brook Academy of Art, which combines boldness of pattern with delicacy of line.

The intention has not been to single out individual objects or lenders for special notice but rather to convey some idea of the widely scattered loans and their sources. Los Angeles will thus be seen to be the sponsor of a truly representative American exhibition of Indian Art. With the exception of a few items loaned from abroad—including some important 3rd century Begram ivories from the Musée Guimet—this is an all American show—a fact that should surprise the people of India and Europe alike and, no doubt, many Americans as well.

The generous number of illustrations in the publication supplement a truly monumental and scholarly text. Far more than a mere accurate cataloguing, it gives the reader in handsomely printed format details of previous exhibiting and publication, and frequent well-worded descriptive commentary of permanent interest.

A carefully worked out Chronology, an excellent Selected Bibliography, and a guide to correct foreign spellings are additional features that follow Dr. Trubner's simple Foreword, list of Lenders, and eleven-page Introduction. It is this last feature that raises the level to something above that of an excellent memento of an exhibition—and makes it also a publication that lovers of Oriental Art who could not go to Los Angeles will like to own.

Thanks to "The Art of Greater India," book and show, we may hope for an awakening of America's artistic consciousness that might well result in our discovery of that country, now our sister nation, which Columbus failed to find.

Arte Hispaniae: Historia Universal del Arte Hispánico, Vol. I: *Prehistórica*, by Dr. Martín Almagro y Basch; *Colonizaciones Púnica y Griega, Arte Ibérico, El Arte de las Tribus Célticas*, by Dr. Antonio García y Bellido. Madrid, 1947. Editorial Plus Ultra, 4° mayor, 371 pp., 417 illus. 250 pesetas. Reviewed by Eileen Lord, New York University.

This initiates a series of 18 volumes dealing with the art of Spain from prehistoric times to the 19th century and will fill a need that students of the art of the Peninsula have long felt. It is eminently desirable that the work should find a place in every art library in America. The editor in charge has been Don José Gudiol Ricart, Director of the Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico. His choices may, in part, have depended upon the fields of specialized interest of the distinguished scholars who will contribute to this comprehensive survey. Greatly enhancing the value of the series, the lavish illustrations that accompany the text are well-chosen. The photographs are to be commended for their unusual clarity.

Dr. Martín Almagro y Basch, the author of Prehistoric art, is the director of the Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona. He discusses the art of Spain from the Paleolithic to the Bronze Age. Asserting that the first stone forms modified by man are to be found in the Quaternary Period, covering more than 200,000 years and comprising four glaciary and three interglaciary periods, he identifies these objects as hatchets, arrow and javelin heads. Then at the end of the last glaciary period the first works of art were fashioned by man. This art flourished in Europe, chiefly in the central and southern section of France and in Spain. Paleolithic art reaches a remarkable point of development in Altamira, "The Sistine Chapel of Quaternary Art" and then dies out rapidly in Spain.

Almagro takes exception to the term Franco-Cantabrian, and suggests Franco-Spanish as a more accurate descriptive designation. The author emphasizes the importance of the creations of Paleolithic man as social, spiritual and economic indications of

the ambient of the creators. Often full of grace and force, these objects are a faithful reflection of the simple, rude life of huntsmen in a cold climate surrounded by ferocious animals. The strength, firmness and naturalism of the art result from the patient observations which a huntsman makes of his prey. It is not art for art's sake, but essentially magic and religious in purpose. The places where murals existed were never dwellings, but rather ritualistic sanctuaries, and mobiliary art was portable magic. The "Levantine" art of the rock shelters presents an archaeological problem in dating since it has distinctive differences, of which the main one is the dominating role played by the human figure, and, only at the end of the "Levantine" cave art, a pine tree (which can be called the beginning of landscape) is represented.

Dr. Antonio García y Bellido, professor of Archaeology in the University of Madrid, takes up the story of the Phoenician and Greek colonization of Spain. He has the advantage of two sources to draw upon, the material remains of the civilizations and many references in ancient texts. He points out that the works resulting from Greek colonization can be classified with greater precision because the literary sources are abundant.

García prefers provincial Roman or Ibero-Roman art as a more accurate description of so-called Iberian art. Since the Roman genius for centralization put its stamp on all Iberian cities, at least on those available for study, a union of Roman and Iberian characteristics resulted. The author points out that the funeral architecture of the Iberians resembles that of the Neolithic period, and he explains this by identity of place, race, and cultural background. He makes clear that the poorer and more retarded Celtic art must be considered as a belated phase of prehistoric culture, but whereas Iberian art dies in confusing itself with the Roman, the Celtic lives on after the fall of the Roman Empire and develops in artistic expression later.

Both authors betray, at times, a justifiable pride in early manifestations of Spanish creative talents, but both maintain the scholarly detachment and objectivity necessary to obtain a broad view of the beginnings of Spanish art.

Chase Centennial Exhibition, Commemorating the Birth of William Merritt Chase, November 1, 1849. Introduction by Wilbur D. Peat, John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1949. \$1.00.

Chase was an artist of talent and good taste rather than of originality and power. Yet he has a place in the history of American painting. At his best, he comes very close sometimes to Manet, or Whistler, or Fortuny. This retrospective exhibition of 56 paintings, commemorating his birth, in his native state, was very carefully prepared and intelligently executed. The catalogue is of more than usual interest to students, for it contains not only 27 illustrations but a checklist of the work of William Merritt Chase, as known at the time of the exhibition. The introductory biography of Chase, by Wilbur D. Peat, gives a compact factual summary of his career. A useful publication.

F. J. B. WATSON, *Canalotto*. Paul Elek, London and New York, 1949. 42 shillings.

This is the first volume of a new series under the general title of "Master Painters" to be issued by this publishing house. The format is large, the typography excellent. The book is particularly welcome for its fourteen color plates which reproduce six of the superb pictures in the English royal collections, the National Gallery's *Stone Mason's Yard* and *Interior of the Rotunda, Ranelagh*, the Ashmolean's *View of Dolo on the Brenta* (here identified as Dolo rather than Mira as is customary), the Dulwich *Walton Bridge*, and others of equal

quality from private collections. The color quality of these plates is pleasing and good, in spite of a tendency to be a little too red. In addition there are 33 black-and-white reproductions of paintings, drawings and etchings, perhaps not quite so well selected, to this reader's eye. The effect is, however, that we are given a useful and very enjoyable picture book at low cost. One must only complain of the tendency of the binding to warp, like that of so many other books from England today.

Mr. Watson's text is more thorough and more carefully documented than the text of a similar picture book is apt to be in this country. It is, in fact, a brief and useful review of the circumstances surrounding the origin of Canaletto's art, the chronology of his life and works, and the esthetic and historical questions involved in an understanding of his work. A few points may be noted. Like K. T. Parker, the author tends to believe in a second journey by Canaletto to Rome about 1740. The origin of Canaletto's late style is found in the mass production of his years of success, rather than in the effects of his stay in London. The identification of the scene of the Ashmolean picture as Dolo rather than Mira is apparently based upon the author's personal knowledge of the site, which he says is still little altered and plainly recognizable at Dolo.

Chinese Buddhist Bronzes. Foreword and catalogue by John Hadley Cox. University of Michigan, 1950.

Catalogue of an unpretentious, useful exhibition of small Buddhist bronzes of high quality in a university town. The notes on the various objects are excellent and, in spite of their concision, form a useful contribution to Buddhist iconography.

Courbet. Bulletins 1-6 (1947-1949).

This is an example of *Cahiers* entirely devoted to one artist. These are more thorough still than is usually the case, and apparently contain all references made in newspapers and magazines to the Master of Ornans during a given period, exhibitions in which paintings by Courbet were shown and, more useful, a complete list of his paintings sold at auction in the past few years. Unknown or little known paintings are reproduced adequately. A series worthy of praise and encouragement.

Handbook of the Barber Institute of Arts. Introduction by Thomas Bodkin. University of Birmingham, 1949. 25 pls.

This brief *Handbook* of one of the newest British museums is a testimony to Professor Bodkin's catholic taste and acumen. In ten years the Director of the Barber Institute has gathered in Birmingham a collection of some fifty paintings, supplemented by excellently chosen drawings, which in its representativeness is a *tour de force*. Among the works of art which have found a permanent place in the Institute are the Bellini *Saint Jerome*, which attracted so much interest last summer at the Venice Exhibition; the *Two Peasants Binding Faggots*, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (reproduced by Friedländer); the charming Dusart from the Six Collection; a very large, little known, *Feast at Cana* by Murillo. At least for this reviewer, the *Handbook* is tantalizingly short. In the majority of cases, it is true, the works are well known, many of them having been published in the *Burlington*, *Apollo* or the *Gazette*, while others, chosen for their unfamiliarity, are reproduced in the present catalogue. But we would like to know more about a number of interesting paintings which have not been reproduced. For instance, to what pictures do the Goya *Portrait of the Artist's Mother* and the Lancret *Tourterelles* (apparently not reproduced in the Wildenstein *Lancret*) refer?

French Master Drawings of the Nineteenth Century. Edited by Klaus Berger. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950. 57 illus.

"It is through French nineteenth century drawing, rather than painting, that the unity of the whole epoch can be studied." Such is Professor Berger's premise in his excellent volume, and this statement, which is only one of Mr. Berger's shrewd comments on a complex subject, becomes the leitmotiv of a comprehensive study of nineteenth century French art from Prud'hon, "the contemporary and silent opponent of David," to Van Gogh and Lautrec. The introduction is followed by a series of "Notes on the Plates" which, in their directness and feeling for the characteristics of French drawing, form the most valuable part of the text. The illustrations are often unusual and always of impeccable quality. The great majority of these are in European collections and little known in America, for instance the pen sketch of a never executed *Demagogue* by Ingres (Montauban); Gros' *Surrender of Ulm*; Corot's *Agar*, in which the painter, as Mr. Berger says, "evoked the genuine poetry of harmonious life." Particularly interesting is the series of illustrations devoted to the evolution of landscape, with a splendid India ink and wash drawing by Decamps (Besançon, Museum, from the Gigoux collection), a pen sketch by Daubigny, whose draughtsmanship reminds Mr. Berger of Canaletto's technique; and a Millet, *In the Environs of Vézelay*, which is evidently closely connected with the painting in the Smith College museum called *Farm at Gréville*.

DENYS SUTTON, French Drawings of the Eighteenth Century. London, Pleiades Books, 1949. 45 pp. text, 2 color pls., 58 black-and-white illus.

There is still so much to say or even discover about eighteenth century French drawings that it is always with pleasant anticipation that this reviewer opens a new book on the subject. This slender volume is one of the best in spite of certain physical limitations—poor binding, mediocre color plates and at times indifferent proof reading of French words. The text is short but charmingly written, ending with a chapter "Forward to Revolution," which is a shrewd analysis of the evolution from realism to neo-classicism. As interesting as the first part of the book are the illustrations which reproduce mostly little-known works, with a generous share given to even lesser-known artists. It is refreshing and, in the United States, most useful, to have at hand reproductions of drawings by, for instance, Desfriches, Lagrenée, Meunier, or Wille. The notices on individual drawings are also excellent and accurate. However, No. XL (*Empress Josephine*, by Prud'hon), listed as being in a Paris private collection, is, I believe, the drawing exhibited at Marcel Guyot's in 1937 and (before the war) at the London Matthiesen Galleries; it has been in a private collection in Detroit for several years.

Art in America, volume XXXVIII, No. 2, 1950.

This issue of *Art in America* is one of the most valuable recently published by our energetic confrère and, since it is entirely devoted to one subject—Fenimore House in Cooperstown—we feel that it should be mentioned here. It does not supersede the *Handbook* of the New York State Historical Association, published in 1942 with a profusion of illustrations, it is true, although many of the reproductions in the magazine do not appear in the *Handbook*. But every one of the articles is a contribution to its subject: "Browere's Life Masks," by Everett L. Millard, is an excellent introduction to what promises to be a fascinating life of the sculptor now in preparation; Miss

Seaver's essay on the landscapes owned by the Association and Miss Cowdrey's notes on its genre paintings contain information difficult to obtain elsewhere, while the rich gallery of portraits at Cooperstown is briefly studied by Miss MacFarlane. The last article, by Louis C. Jones on the Folk Art collection (which is especially rich in three-dimensional pieces), is charming, sensible and useful and ends with a cheerful note: the announcement of the purchase for Fenimore House of the Jean and Howard Lipman collection of Folk art.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

JEAN BARADEZ, *Fossatum Africae*. Algiers, Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, 1949.

GEORG KAUN, *Deutsche Malerei des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart, Gerd Hatje, 1949.

HOWARD ROLLIN PATCH, *The Other World*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950.

LEON KOCHNITZKY, *Negro Art in Belgian Congo*. New York, Belgian Government Information Center, 1949.

Contemporary Paintings and Sculpture: Paintings and Sculpture in the Permanent Collection. Edited by Andrew C. Ritchie. Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery, 1949.

ADDISON FRANKLIN PAGE, *Modern Sculpture in the Detroit Institute of Arts*. Detroit Institute of Arts, 1950.

HENRY N. RASMUSSEN, *Art Structure*. New York, Toronto, London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950.

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